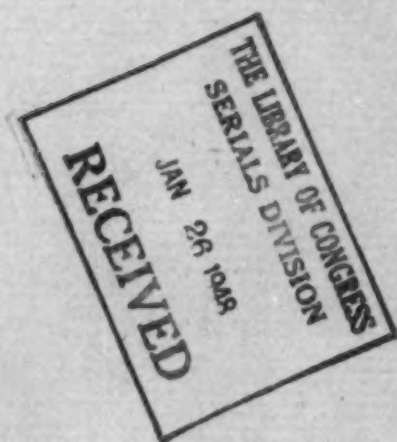


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# *The ART Quarterly*



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# *The ART Quarterly*

PUBLISHED BY THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

*Edited by W. R. VALENTINER and E. P. RICHARDSON*

## CONTENTS

Andrea Pisano as Marble Sculptor <i>By W. R. Valentiner</i> . . . . .	163
Five Baroque Don Quixote Tapestries <i>By Phyllis Ackerman</i> . . . . .	188
The Window at Thomar—A Monument to Vasco Da Gama, The Portuguese Argonaut <i>By Emil Delmar</i> . . . . .	203
Watson and the Shark By John Singleton Copley <i>By E. P. Richardson</i> . . . . .	213
Recent Important Acquisitions of American and Canadian Collections . . . . .	220

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*Fig. 1. HERE ATTRIBUTED TO ANDREA PISANO, Madonna of the Annunciation (polychromed wood)  
Pisa, Museo Civico*

## ANDREA PISANO AS MARBLE SCULPTOR

By W. R. VALENTINER

**A**NDREA PISANO was one of the most many-sided artists of his time. According to the inscription on his tomb, copied by Vasari, he created sculptures in bronze, gold and ivory. We know also that he worked in marble and wood. He was an architect, and if it is unlikely that he painted pictures, we know at least that he had an uncommon interest in polychromy, as his marble and wood sculptures show, and that this interest, more pronounced than in any of his predecessors, was informed by a remarkably fine color sense. By training he was a goldsmith and it is mainly for this reason that he was asked by the Florentines to undertake the difficult task of executing the bronze doors of the Baptistery, although some specialists in bronze foundry were given him as assistants. In the Florentine documents referring to his work he is twice called *orefice*.

Born about 1295<sup>1</sup> in Pontedera, the son of a Pisan notary, he was about thirty-five years of age when he began his work in Florence, which he finished within six years. (He began in 1329; the main work was completed in 1332; the last document in connection with the gilding of the door is 1336; Andrea himself signed the door with the date 1330.) Vasari's belief that he was much older does not seem justified. If he had been a much older artist, it seems probable that we should have heard something about his earlier life. The first document concerning him is the date of his contract with the Florentine Opera del Duomo. Where he worked after his training in his native city, Pisa, and before coming to Florence is an open question. Some think it may have been Venice, where he may possibly have stayed at one time or another, according to Vasari; others, Orvieto, where he would have worked on the façade reliefs as marble sculptor. That he was well acquainted with their style is evident in some of his later works; yet the fact that he is not listed among the many sculptors who worked on the Orvieto façade lessens the possibility that he was active there during the time of Lorenzo Maitani. It is likely, however, that he had some reputation as sculptor as well as goldsmith when he was invited to Florence, since the Florentines were undoubtedly aware that the bronze reliefs for such a large area as the Baptistery doors, which had to be seen from a certain distance, needed a simplified style and demanded an artist of broader vision than the ordinary goldsmith.

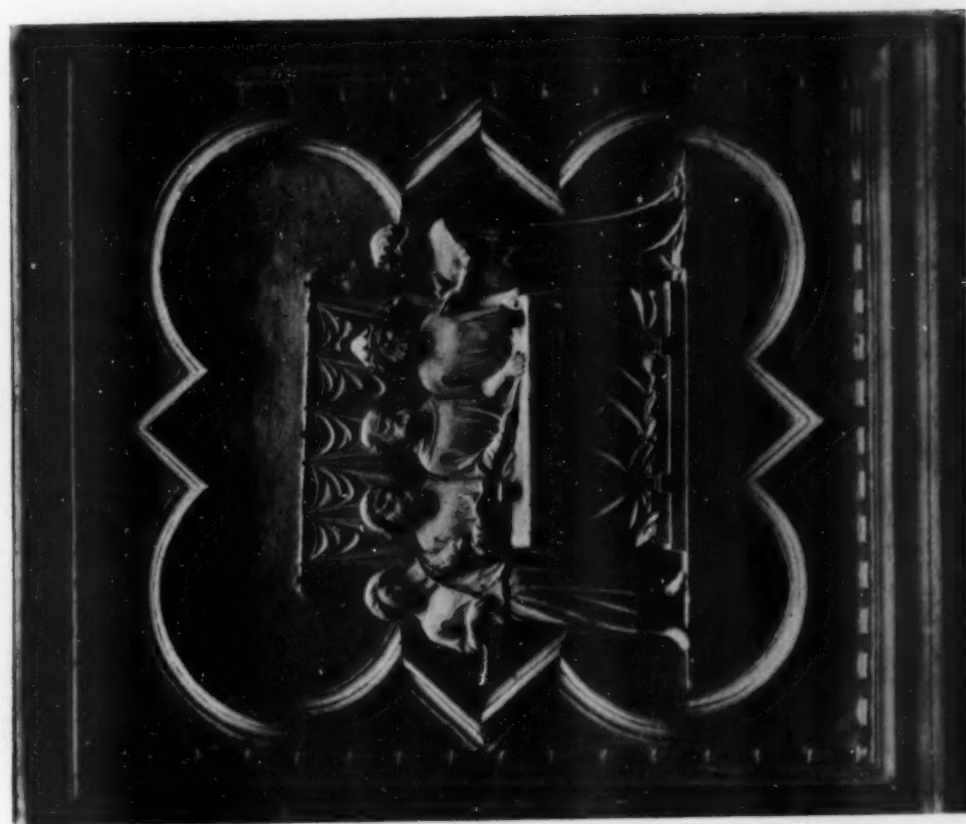
Fortunately, there is at least one work preserved to give us an idea of

Andrea's pre-Florentine period: the polychromed wooden statue of the *Annunciate* (Fig. 1), formerly in S. Domenico in Pisa, now in the Museo Civico there, on whose base the removal of later repainting has recently revealed the date 1321.<sup>2</sup> This enchanting statue, which always stood out among the many wood sculptures of the Annunciation of fourteenth century Pisan workshops, would have been recognized sooner as a work by Andrea had the marble statues of the Campanile, which I believe to be from his hand, been taken into consideration. Its outstanding quality has been recognized by Adolfo Venturi and by the editor of the catalogue of the Pisan Exhibition (Riccardo Barsotti) who in the introduction asked whether this *elegantissima statua lignea* should not be attributed to Nino Pisano. Against this supposition we have the evidence of Nino's life span. He cannot have been born much before 1320, if the surmised birth date of Andrea (c. 1295) be correct. But even more important, the superior quality of the work implies a greater master, who, despite the relief conception governing sculpture at this time, was able to produce a masterly piece of sculpture in the round when the subject required it. The freeing of the arms from the body, the spiral-like movement of the figure, the extreme simplicity of costume and silhouette are most unusual for sculptures of this period and bespeak a born sculptor of great originality. The tendency towards sculpture in the round may make us think of Nino's works in the sixties of that century. But Nino's sculptures were never characterized by free-moving extremities and retained a compact form according to the trend of the later trecento, to which period they belong completely.

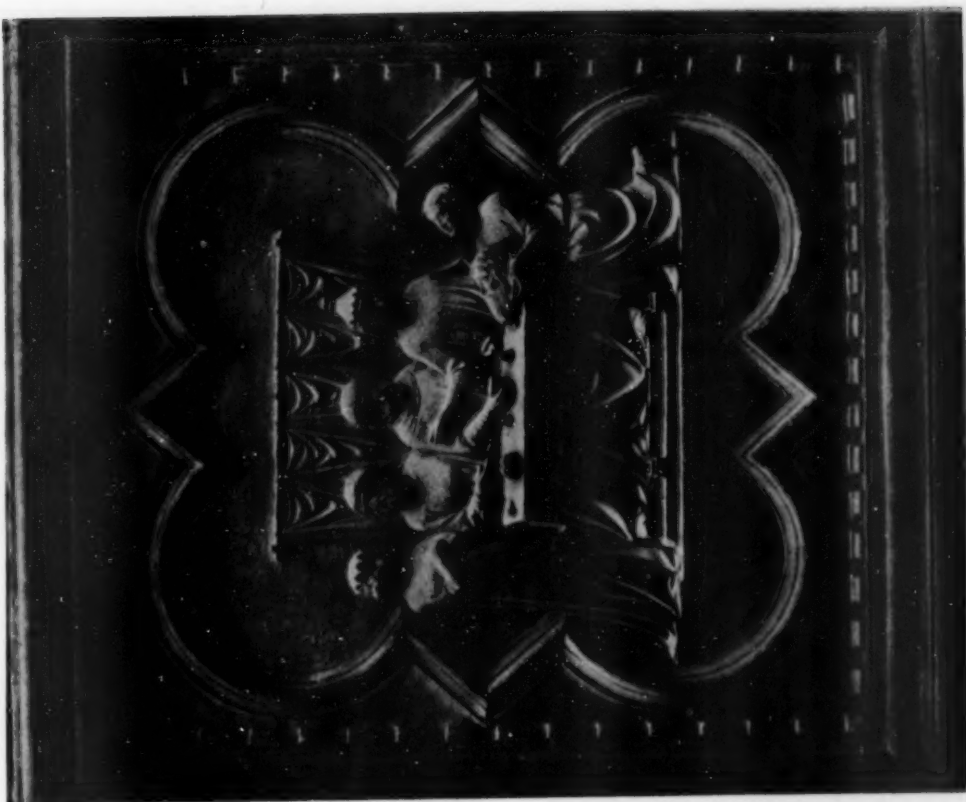
The facial type of the Annunciate reminds us not only of the Campanile statues, but also of some of Andrea's bronze door reliefs, especially those with single figures. The exquisitely designed figure of Salome demanding the head of S. John from Herod (Fig. 2), and again while standing before him waiting to receive the head (Fig. 3), have similar outlines, the same flowing dress and hair arrangement. Her arms also, particularly in the former scene, are modeled with similarly free and expressive movements. Of the added charm afforded by the striking cinnabar of the Virgin's dress, fortunately not repainted like so many of the other wooden sculptures of this school, the reproduction of course conveys no idea.

After Andrea Pisano finished the bronze doors, his most important activity during the succeeding twelve years until his death in 1348 lay in his work as marble sculptor. But even in his marble sculptures he never lost the vestiges of his original training as a goldsmith. If we compare his stone sculptures with,





*Fig. 2. ANDREA PISANO, Relief from Bronze Doors  
Florence, Baptistry*



*Fig. 3. ANDREA PISANO, Relief from Bronze Doors  
Florence, Baptistry*





*Fig. 4. ANDREA PISANO, S. Reparata  
(marble statuette)  
Florence, Cathedral Museum*



*Fig. 5. ANDREA PISANO, Christ  
(marble statuette)  
Florence, Cathedral Museum*

for instance, those of Giovanni Pisano, they appear more smoothly finished and more minutely executed in detail. It is likely that Andrea did not cut directly into the marble as did Giovanni Pisano with his impatient temperament, but worked with assistants, from clay models previously prepared like those made for his bronze reliefs. For this reason, the marble surface is never distinguished by the personal touch found in Giovanni's sculpture, but has, on the other hand, the lustre created by means of the highest polish. This characteristic, which Vasari decried in Nino as "robbing the stone of its hardness and reducing it to the softness of flesh," can as rightly be charged to Andrea.

After the death of Giotto (Jan. 8, 1337), Andrea became master architect of the Cathedral at Florence. Being *capomaestro* of a cathedral in progress at that time in Italy entailed not only the planning of the building structure, but also the designing and executing of the sculptures (statues and reliefs) necessary for the decoration of the section of the structure supervised by the architect. Andrea Pisano worked both as architect and sculptor, especially upon the Campanile which Giotto had begun in 1334, and which was then advanced as far as the first base with its hexagon reliefs which had not yet been executed but which probably were partly designed by Giotto. It is generally assumed that Andrea stayed in Florence until 1343, when the Duke of Athens, by whom he had been employed according to Vasari, was driven out.

The best source for Andrea's contribution to the decoration of the Campanile are Ghiberti's *Memoirs*. Ghiberti was born only thirty years after Andrea's death. He must have had a special interest in Andrea since he continued his work on the Baptistery and was, like his predecessor, goldsmith and sculptor in one. As an official of the Cathedral commission he might have had access to the archives had he so desired, but he did not avail himself of them, relying instead upon his memory. As a result he made a few slight errors, but these aside, his descriptions are very reliable. After highly praising Giovanni Pisano, he continues: "Master Andrea from Pisa was likewise a very fine sculptor; he made many sculptures at Pisa, in S. Maria a Ponte [now S. Maria della Spina]; further, in Florence, on the Campanile, the seven Works of Charity, seven Virtues, seven Liberal Arts, and seven Planets. In addition, there are on the Campanile four statues by Andrea, each four feet high. Finally, he executed here to a great extent the reliefs which represent the invention of the different arts. Giotto, who was master of both arts, is said to have made the first two stories. Master Andrea also executed the bronze door of the Baptistery with episodes from the life of S. John the Baptist, and his statue of S. Stephen has

been erected on the façade of S. Reparata [the Cathedral], on the corner towards the Campanile. These are the works still extant by this master. He was a very great sculptor, and lived in the 410th Olympiad [1295]."<sup>3</sup>

Ghiberti made only one small mistake in his mention of Andrea's Florentine works. He attributed all the reliefs on the lower section of the Campanile to Andrea. Only those of the first section of the base are his, while those of the second section are by his followers, mainly by Alberto Arnoldi, although they were probably partly designed by Andrea. The *S. Stephen* is lost, but the four statues, four feet in height, are still *in situ* and can be identified. Ghiberti's statement that Giotto is said to have designed the first reliefs is probably true, but the style of execution is completely Andrea's. Curiously enough, the free-standing statues which Ghiberti mentions as Andrea's are precisely the ones not generally accepted as his, while two statuettes in the museum of the Opera del Duomo (Figs. 4, 5) which Schmarsow first attributed to him in 1887, have never been questioned save by Adolfo Venturi, who dates them much too late.<sup>4</sup>

It would indeed be difficult to deny that these two statuettes are by the same hand that executed the first Campanile reliefs. The type of *Christ* (Fig. 5) is very similar to God the Father in the *Creation of Adam* (Figs. 6, 8, 9), and the hands with their rather short fingers, yet sensitive movements, are characteristic of Andrea. The way in which Christ holds his book by placing his fingers on both sides of the lower edge is very much the same in both representations. The statue of *S. Reparata* (Fig. 4) should be compared with the female figure to the left of the *Visitation*, on the bronze doors, who holds her dress very much in the same manner. This motif goes back to Arnolfo di Cambio and Giovanni Pisano, who used it with much more plastic force but less charm and rhythmic sense of line. The good condition of the two statuettes suggests that they were not placed on the exterior of the building but formed the decoration of an altar, probably as a group of three, of which the third, possibly S. Pancrazio or S. John the Baptist, is missing.

More important than the two statuettes are the four statues on the Campanile which Julius von Schlosser, the excellent commentator on Ghiberti's *Memoirs*, rightly identified as the two Sibyls and the two Kings, although neither he nor other authorities after him dared ascribe them to Andrea himself. If we compare *King David* (Fig. 10) for instance, with the *S. Reparata* (Fig. 4), it can hardly be doubted that we have the work of the same artist before us, although comparison is rather difficult since the male statue is twice as large and has suffered greatly in preservation. The proportions of the figures with their



sloping shoulders, short arms and thick necks, are similar, and the smoothly modeled mantles of both are drawn down over the left shoulder so that the ends fall over the wrist while the arm stretches the right portion of the mantle tightly around the hand. The folds on the left upper arm are almost identical, as are the turned-over folds around the neck and the silhouette of the hair rolled up behind the right ear. Even the design of the crowns, with their field of lozenges and bosses, is very similar. In the faces, the upper lip is characteristically high and the eyes somewhat protruding, with heavy lids. The face of David should be compared with the one of Zaccharias on the bronze doors, and his drapery with that of the group of men in the same relief.

Much more fascinating than the two male statues are the Sibyls, still standing on their original bases with the inscription of their names: *Sibilla Tiburtina* (Fig. 11) and *Sibilla Eritrea* (Fig. 12). They are masterpieces of Andrea's art and belong to the finest Trecento sculpture. Like the two Kings they were composed as companion pieces, the arms with the scrolls held in opposite directions, the feet moving forward correspondingly. Yet in detail no line or movement is repeated and the drapery is varied in every fold, crossed by simple verticals and conveying the intriguing flowing rhythm typical of Andrea. The rolling back of the mantle over the left arm, as seen in the *Tiburtina*, can be found in many instances in the scenes on the bronze doors as well as in the Campanile reliefs. The finely-shaped faces may seem slightly more elongated, the chins more pointed than in the *S. Reparata* and some of the female types of the bronze doors; but in the lower reliefs with single figures, covered with veils which enframe their faces, we find similar facial types. The eyes of the *Tiburtina*, narrowed slits like those of *S. Reparata*, are smooth, without pupils, while those of the *Eritrea* are animated with pupils and irises. It is possible that the last touches of the chisel were never applied to the *Tiburtina* since the inscription on her scroll is likewise missing. It may have been the last statue upon which Andrea worked before leaving the city. Comparing them to the two statuettes in the Duomo, the folds running down towards the advanced left foot and covering a portion of the slippers are remarkably similar. That the larger figures are of somewhat taller proportions than the statuettes and those of the Campanile reliefs does not preclude their common execution by Andrea. The proportions in the bronze reliefs vary also, as do, to some degree, the proportions in the work of most original sculptors. Furthermore, the statues were placed high in niches, and the artist was certainly aware of the necessity of slightly exaggerating their height.

Our supposition that Andrea himself executed some of the statues on the Campanile agrees with the result of recent research into the part he played in the architectural changes of Giotto's original plan of the Campanile. Nardini and Paatz<sup>5</sup> have shown convincingly that immediately after Giotto's death, his design, of which an early reproduction is preserved in Siena,<sup>6</sup> was altered by the doubling of the original narrow base which did not seem secure enough for the height of the building, and by the adding of niches with statues to the second story in order to enrich the flat and simple ornamentation of Giotto. This was Andrea's idea, and he carried forward the construction of the building, which had thus far reached only to the first low base with hexagonal reliefs, up to the second story with niches and statues. After his departure, work on the building seems to have been arrested until Francesco Talenti took over the direction and finished the Campanile in quick succession after a further change in the plan of the upper sections, in 1350-57, completing it in the last named year. The implication follows, then, that the reliefs of the second section of the base, constructed under Andrea's direction, were most probably designed by him. The seven planets especially are compositionally of too high a quality to be the work of so unimaginative an artist as Alberto Arnaldi, who was, however, responsible for their execution as Andrea's assistant.<sup>7</sup>

That Andrea used drawings by Giotto for the first reliefs on the lower section, as is attested by such reliable writers as Ghiberti and Pucci, is indeed very likely. The first five especially are far more pictorially conceived than we would expect from the artist who executed the bronze reliefs in the Baptistry. Both the richness of foliage in the first three reliefs and the tent and enframing drapery in the *Jabal* and *Jubal* reliefs, not to mention the doll-like animals in the scene of the first shepherd (which remind us strongly of Giotto's *Joachim* scenes of the Arena chapel), all suggest a painter rather than a sculptor as author of the composition. An added proof that the *Creation of Adam* is indeed Giotto's invention is the fact that Adam's position is remarkably similar to the only representation of this subject that we know of Giotto's, namely, one of the small panels inserted in the decorative framework of the Arena frescoes, executed between 1303 and 1306 (Fig. 7). Even had Andrea known this much earlier composition—which is not very likely—it is important to realize that the famous gesture of God the Father and the responsive movement by Adam, which were followed throughout the Renaissance until Michelangelo, were initially created by Giotto and not by Andrea Pisano.

Vasari is authority for the reason usually given for Andrea's departure from





Fig. 6. ANDREA PISANO, *Creation of Adam*  
(marble relief), Florence, Campanile



Fig. 7. GIOTTO, *Creation of Adam*  
Padua, Arena Chapel Fresco (detail)



Fig. 8. ANDREA PISANO, *Creation of Eve*  
(marble relief), Florence, Campanile



Fig. 9. ANDREA PISANO, *Adam and Eve Walking  
in the Fields* (marble relief), Florence, Campanile



Fig. 10. ANDREA PISANO, King David  
(marble statue)  
Florence, Campanile



Fig. 11. ANDREA PISANO, Tiburtine Sibyl  
(marble statue)  
Florence, Campanile



Fig. 12. ANDREA PISANO, Eritrean Sibyl  
(marble statue)  
Florence, Campanile

Florence, that is, that he was in the service of the banished Duke of Athens who had employed him in many architectural undertakings. With the exception of the fortification of the Palazzo Vecchio, few such works could have been executed during the Duke's short regime which lasted exactly one year, from August 1, 1342 to August 6, 1343. Most of this time was taken up by the Duke's conflict with the various parties in Florence and with his endeavor to raise sufficient funds for his army. Whatever may have been the immediate reason for Andrea's return to his native city, the essential cause was obviously the economic crisis in Florence, between 1339-42, resulting in a financial crash that brought all large artistic enterprises to a standstill. From 1343-50 little was done to advance the Cathedral buildings.

As in modern times, the architectural undertakings of a community in the past were dependent upon and encouraged by favorable economic conditions. When Andrea Pisano was asked in 1329 to take over the execution of the bronze doors, the city had just triumphed over the Ghibellines of Tuscany after a dangerous struggle lasting more than a generation. The great Ghibelline leader, Castruccio Castracani, and his opponent, Charles of Calabria, one-time ruler of Florence and now considered an adversary of the liberty-loving city, had both died within a year (1328). Trade and wealth developed rapidly among the upper classes after the self-government of the city was secured, inducing them to undertake the expenditure necessary to continue such public buildings as the Cathedral. But when the financial crisis ten years later threw the leading banks into bankruptcy, both before and during the rule of the Duke of Athens, and the forties of the fourteenth century ended with the terrible cholera epidemic, the architectural planning of the community was shattered and lapsed into a discouraging period without artistic production in Florence, in accord with the pessimistic mood of the population which Giovanni Villani (himself a victim of the epidemic, like Andrea Pisano, the Lorenzetti and many other artists) has tellingly described in the last chapters of his chronicle.

Andrea Pisano who, as we later hear, had a workshop in Pisa during the forties and perhaps had had one even at the time he was active in Florence, experienced no difficulty finding work in his native Ghibelline city. Pisa, although in an epoch of general decline, profited from the temporary setback of the city on the Arno. In September, 1342, the Archbishop of Pisa, Simone Saltarelli, had died and his heirs selected Andrea to execute a most elaborate tomb (Fig. 13). I formerly followed the opinion, first expressed by J. R. Supino and Adolfo Venturi, that the Saltarelli tomb was Nino Pisano's earliest work.

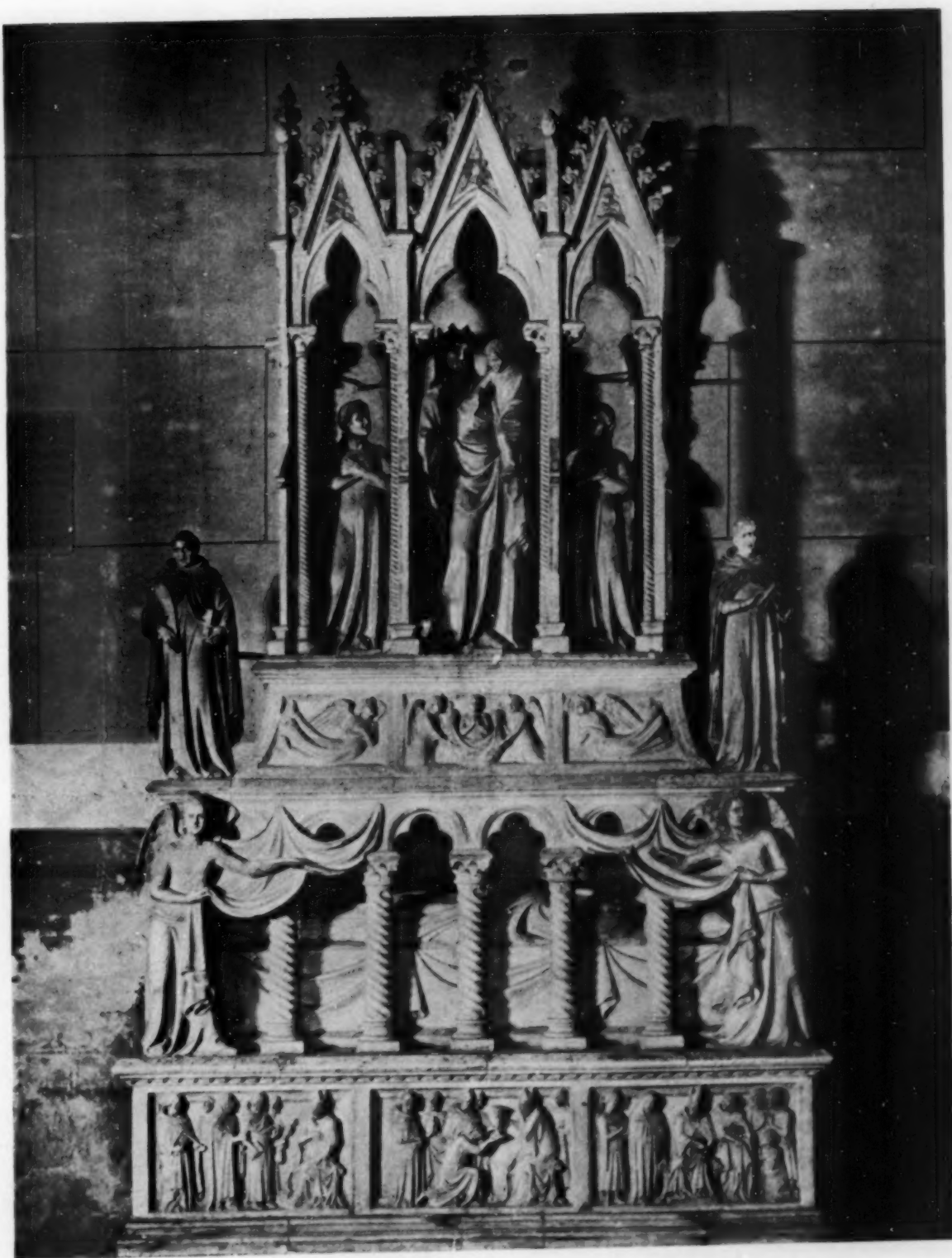


But after a deeper acquaintance with Andrea's style, I have come to the conclusion that this work, as well as the closely connected *Madonna with Two Saints* in S. Maria della Spina, is Andrea's spiritual property. It is certainly unlikely that a young sculptor, unknown as Nino was at that time and perhaps not more than twenty-two years of age, should have been chosen to create a tomb which in size and monumentality can only be compared in Pisa with the tombs of Henry VII and of the Gherardesca. Nino did not have his own workshop until his father died in 1348, the very year that Nino was chosen *capomaestro* in Orvieto as the best man from Andrea's shop. The Saltarelli tomb was therefore, in any case, an enterprise of Andrea's shop. As the master was still at the height of his activity, there is no reason to suppose that he would not have been the master of the construction and creator of at least the most important statues.

Nino probably took some part in the execution because he must have been a remarkably skillful young sculptor, but he was surely not the only assistant in a workshop as large as Andrea's must have been at that time. The leading sculptors had then the right to employ a number of assistants for extensive undertakings, a fact substantiated by documents about Niccolo and Giovanni Pisano. Thus the predella of the Saltarelli tomb, although designed by Andrea, was most likely executed by a sculptor trained in a Sienese workshop, for it shows a connection with the style of Agostino di Giovanni. But the spirit of the whole work is Andrea's, who was selected as builder of this costly monument, probably not without the Archbishop's knowledge in his lifetime, and who might even have been mentioned in the prelate's will.

Simone Saltarelli's career can be compared with Andrea Pisano's in the manner in which it was divided between Pisa and Florence. Saltarelli was archbishop of Pisa for eighteen years (1323-1342) and as a staunch Guelph was driven out more than once to take refuge in his native city, Florence. A Dominican prior, he kept in close touch with his former convent, S. Maria Novella, throughout his life. Interested in art and architecture, he built a hospital for his convent in Montelupo, a part of the cloister court and the campanile of S. Maria Novella, which still exists, and also presented the convent with beautiful church paraments and with two organs.<sup>8</sup> He undoubtedly must have come to know Andrea during his enforced absence from Pisa, if he had not known him even before Andrea went to Florence.

How close the Saltarelli monument is in style to Andrea's Florentine works is indicated by a comparison between *S. Dominic* (Fig. 14) and the



*Fig. 13. ANDREA PISANO, Tomb of Simone Saltarelli  
Pisa, S. Caterina*





*Fig. 14. ANDREA PISANO, S. Dominic,  
statue from Saltarelli Tomb  
Pisa, S. Caterina*



*Fig. 15. ANDREA PISANO, Madonna  
Pisa, S. Maria della Spina*

two marble statuettes in the Florentine Opera del Duomo (Figs. 4, 5). The vertical folds of drapery fall in the same manner with a slight outside curve to the feet, the ends are wound around the lower arm and the palm is held by fingers in exactly the same position as those of the *S. Reparata*, while the other hand holding the book repeats the pattern of the hand in the statuette of *Christ*.

The statue of the *Madonna* of the Saltarelli tomb is the first in Andrea's work in which a slight curve of the left hip shows the beginning of French influence; yet the figure is still closely related to the Sibyls of the Cathedral, especially to the *Tiburtina* (Fig. 11). The vertical folds of the lower portion of the figure, the veil about the head, the arrangement of the hair (which is repeated in the angels) are very similar. Most important of all, however, we find the same flat treatment, a relief style which stresses the direction from left to right more than that towards the depth. Movement toward the depth is characteristic of Nino's later documented statues.

The Spina *Madonna* (Fig. 15) follows the Saltarelli *Madonna* in close succession and was probably executed by Andrea in the middle of the forties. It is perhaps the most famous Madonna statue of the Trecento, and rightly so, for it combines extraordinary charm and dignity with a most exquisite execution in every detail. How well known it was in Florence as early as 1359 we learn from a contract between the Compagnia of the Bigallo and Alberto Arnoldi, in which the latter was advised to make his forthcoming Madonna statue compare in beauty with the one in Pisa. The fact that the name of the maker of the earlier work is not mentioned seems indirectly to suggest Andrea, who was known to everyone in Florence and whose pupil Arnoldi most likely was. It is much less likely that the artist of the sculpture so flatteringly referred to in the contract should have been Nino, who was certainly not as popular in Florence as his father.<sup>9</sup>

It is characteristic of Ghiberti that he nowhere mentions Nino Pisano, while from Vasari's time onward Nino's name was usually coupled with his father's in the same breath. Ghiberti's omission of Nino was probably due to the historian's extraordinary sense for originality, a sense which can be illustrated again and again. For his list of earlier masters he selected only those artists who were, according to his judgment, of the highest standard; and to these Nino did not belong. How clearly Ghiberti could differentiate artistic quality is shown by his characterization of the Orcagna brothers. After praising Orcagna's many-sidedness and importance, he writes that Orcagna had three brothers. "Nardo did splendid work; another brother was also a painter [he is

silent regarding his abilities]; the third brother was not a very good sculptor." While it is true that Ghiberti talks in the main of Florentine sculptors, with the exception of Giovanni Pisano, we must remember that Nino was, after all, active in Florence and that Ghiberti must have known his works.

Vasari, who wrote two hundred years after Andrea Pisano's time, was considerably more of an art historian than Ghiberti as can be seen from his careful copying of tomb and monument inscriptions. But his knowledge of fourteenth century artists was generally based on verbal tradition and was hence extremely limited. The data uncovered in recent times through the recovery of contemporary documents discloses that Vasari's information about this period was full of errors. He was acquainted with only a few great names and divided among these the many monuments which still existed in his time, thus attributing to Andrea a considerable number of architectural and sculptural works which can now be proved were not his. He gave Andrea, for example, the apostle statuettes formerly in the niches of the façade of the Cathedral at Florence (now in the Duomo) which were, according to documents, executed long after Andrea's death;<sup>10</sup> the *Madonna* and angels of the altar of the Bigallo and the *Madonna* relief above the entrance of this chapel, both of which are by Alberto Arnoldi; the *Tomb of Cino di Sinibaldi*, in Pistoia, and the *Tarlatti* monument in Arezzo, although both works are by the Siennese, Agostino di Giovanni; and the statue of *Boniface VIII* in the Florentine Cathedral, which is close to Arnolfo di Cambio. At the period when Vasari came to Pisa to make studies preparatory to his work, Nino had obviously become a very popular figure there, which is understandable from the pleasing and sweet character of his work. Vasari was even of the opinion that Nino surpassed his father, about whose Pisan sculptures he was not well informed. He repeated Ghiberti's statement that Andrea worked for S. Maria della Spina, but altered it so that, according to his interpretation, Andrea only executed some small statues for the church, implying that they are among those decorating the exterior. Ghiberti speaks of statues by Andrea in the interior of the church. These are the very works which Vasari gives to Nino, that is, the group of three full-length figures, the *Madonna*, *S. John* and *S. Peter*, and the *Madonna del Latte*. That Nino had a part in the execution of the standing Spina *Madonna* is quite possible. Yet the execution scarcely differs in precision from Andrea's statuette of *Christ* in Florence, where we find similar drapery and the same exquisitely executed borders with fringes. Nino was certainly not the only helper who assisted in the execution of this group. We can recognize in the statue of





*Fig. 16. FOLLOWER OF ANDREA PISANO  
Tomb of Tedice degli Aliotti  
Florence, S. Maria Novella*



*Fig. 17. ANDREA PISANO  
Relief from Bronze Doors  
Florence, Baptistry*



*Fig. 18. Detail of Figure 16*



*Fig. 19. ANDREA PISANO, Madonna  
(marble statuette)  
Orvieto, Cathedral Museum*



*Fig. 20. ANDREA PISANO, Madonna  
(marble statuette)  
The Detroit Institute of Arts*



*S. John the Baptist* the hand of his younger brother, Tommaso, the same artist who has left us a signed altarpiece in *S. Francesco*, Pisa, which reveals him to have been the poorest artist of his family.

Another work of Andrea's workshop and certainly composed by the master himself is the beautiful relief of *S. Martin and the Beggar*, over the portal of *S. Martino* in Pisa.<sup>11</sup> It may have been executed either soon after Andrea's return from Florence or even during his stay in that city. The monastery was built by Bonifazio della Gherardesca soon after 1331; the church bell for the tower is dated 1333.<sup>12</sup> But it seems that the building was not yet quite finished at the time of Bonifazio's death in 1341.<sup>13</sup> The composition is filled with that wonderful rhythm and balance characteristic of Andrea and is a masterpiece of subtle and careful surface treatment. As has been shown elsewhere, it is closely connected in the figure of the beggar with the Orvieto reliefs, for which reason it has been attributed recently to Francesco Talenti, who is mentioned in Orvieto and who followed Andrea Pisano as *capomaestro* in Florence.<sup>14</sup> But if the three prophets in the niches are his, as is likely, he was not as great a sculptor as Andrea and as the creator of the Martino relief. In addition, we have no evidence of any connection of Francesco Talenti with Pisa. Since the *S. Martin* is related not only to the Orvieto reliefs but also to Andrea's reliefs on the Campanile (especially in the strange, rather timid posture of the beggar's feet, which should be compared with those of Adam and Eve in the Florentine relief), it should not be dated too late.

It must be said, however, that in fixing the chronology of medieval sculpture within the lifetimes of the few artists we know by name, we are never on such safe ground as with works of later and more individualistic epochs. The development of the artists, if we can speak of such, seems to be less logical, perhaps at times retarded by the conventional rules of the art in their time, at others becoming unexpectedly rapid when the artist was swept on by a new international movement, or by the appearance of a genius like Giotto.

Giotto made a decided impression on Andrea Pisano, as has often been indicated in connection with the bronze doors. Here we should like to call attention to a monument of marble sculpture for which the right name has not yet been found but which seems to belong to the orbit of the Pisan master, even if we cannot attribute it to him—the *Tomb* of the bishop of Fiesole, Tedice degli Aliotti (d. 1336), in *S. Maria Novella* (Figs. 16, 18).<sup>15</sup> We need only compare the simple geometric structure of the composition with some of the reliefs from the bronze door, such as the *Entombment of S. John the Baptist*

(Fig. 17) in order to show that we have to do here with the same classical style in sculpture which could not have been achieved without Giotto's creations in painting. We find the two mourning figures of the tomb placed at both ends of the sarcophagus just as they are in the bronze relief, in each case the symmetrical position of the figures is stressed by placing them under arches and leaving a large empty space between them. In both compositions the vertical and horizontal lines are pronounced but interspersed with the flowing curves which have perhaps a stronger rhythm in the bronze relief than in the stone sculpture where, because of the nature of the material, each figure forms a separate unit. Not only does the spirit of the composition but individual motifs also show Giotto's influence: the half-length mourning figures of S. John (Fig. 18) and the Virgin on the sarcophagus of the *Tedice Tomb*, and the mourner with his hands clasped in despair to the right of the bronze relief (Fig. 17).

An example of the difficulty of dating sculpture of this period only through stylistic considerations and disregarding the documents (which in this case can be variously interpreted) will be set forth in the discussion of the *Madonna* statuette (Fig. 19) in the Cathedral of Orvieto, which has been called "l'ultima statua di Andrea Pisano."<sup>16</sup> The artist became *capomaestro* of Orvieto Cathedral in May, 1347. Not long before February of the following year he shipped—so we learn from the documents—a *Madonna* statue and two marble blocks for the execution of the angels belonging to the group, from his workshop in Pisa to Orvieto. It has logically been supposed by J. Lanyi, whom we have to thank for drawing the connection between the *Maesta* in the documents and the Orvieto *Madonna*, as well as for her restitution to Andrea, that the *Madonna* statue was executed in 1347 by Andrea, and the angels soon afterwards. Weinberger, who believes the *Madonna* statue to be a work by Nino, rightly claims that it would have been difficult for Andrea to have found time to execute the figure himself so soon after his appointment as *capomaestro*; he further believes that Andrea gave the order to Nino to execute it in Pisa as soon as he took over his new position, that is, in the summer of 1347, and then shipped the finished statue to Orvieto from his Pisan shop early in 1348. For stylistic reasons I believe Lanyi's attribution to Andrea of the *Madonna* statue as well as of the angels, which Weinberger gives to Nino's assistants, perfectly justified. But there is no reason why we should suppose it impossible for the *Madonna* statue to have been in Andrea's shop for some time—if the style suggests an earlier date. In the case of a statuette intended for an altar and therefore not bound by the fixed measurements of a niche or exterior lunette,

it is admissible to suppose that Andrea could have had several such in his shop for occasional disposal. It may also have been executed for a patron in Pisa or Florence and then retained by the sculptor for lack of payment, as often occurred, or for some other reason. He might have had the *Madonna* in his studio for some years, deciding to add the angels to it when he found he needed such a group for the altar in Orvieto.

Lanyi had already observed the close relationship between the Orvieto figure and the bronze reliefs, as well as the Campanile reliefs. A few more points of similarity may be added. The proportions of the Madonna are the same as those of the figures in the relief of the *Creation* (Fig. 6): heavy heads, short necks, broad shoulders and short, stocky legs. There are also similarities in the drapery, as for instance, the very long fold sweeping down below the knee, which occurs again in the figure of God the Father creating Adam, and where also the mantle is rolled back upon the underarm in like fashion. Another characteristic detail is the treatment of the Madonna's hair. We have seen the hair similarly pushed back behind the ear in many of Andrea's figures. But more typical is the manner of treating the Child's locks, solidly designed in single strands, running in radial curves from a central point and cut straight across the forehead, exactly in the style of the reclining Adam in the Campanile relief (Fig. 8). Nino's hair, on the other hand, is treated much more pictorially and loosely. The *Madonna* statue of Orvieto is also straighter than the Saltarelli and Spina statues with their slight S curve, and can be, in this respect, placed closer to the large statues of the Cathedral. Tentatively, we would date it around 1340, even before the Saltarelli statue, which was executed about 1343, and the Spina statue of about the middle forties. This of course argues against the authorship of Nino, who could not have executed a statue in Andrea's earlier style if the work had been done by him in 1347.

Along with the Orvieto *Madonna*, the slightly smaller Detroit statuette (Fig. 20) must be given to Andrea instead of Nino. Not enough can be said in its praise. Those who have seen it in the original cannot question that it is the most beautiful Italian Trecento statue on this side of the ocean. Possibly it was even executed before the Orvieto *Madonna*, as the right hand—so characteristically delicate in its outlines—is in its backward swing derived from Giovanni Pisano. The pronounced similarity in style of the two statues is illuminated by the juxtaposition of their rear views (Figs. 21, 22). For purposes of comparison we place next to these a corresponding view of a fourteenth century French boxwood statuette (Fig. 23) of a commercial type which was



probably better known in Italy than the statues from French cathedrals. The similarity of folds does not prevent us from observing the greater monumentality and voluminousness of the two Italian sculptures, even in this view, while the front views reveal their superiority so strikingly that further comparison is superfluous.

In studying the smiles of the Detroit *Madonna* and of Nino's signed statue of the *Madonna* in Florence (Figs. 24, 25) we see that while Andrea's is direct and sincere, Nino's shows a slight affectation and mannerism. In general, it should be said, however, that while Nino is derivative and scarcely inventive—we do not know of any such delightful narrative reliefs by him as those of his father—his art progresses toward a conception of sculpture in the round unknown to Andrea, if we except the isolated early wood figure (Fig. 1) in which the problem is solved in a different and unique manner. Nino's *Madonnas* seem slowly to turn themselves in a movement anticipating the Renaissance idea of freeing the figure from the wall, while still holding the whole figure together in a compact, closed form. His group of five splendid statues in S. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, astonishes us by its massive volume, as if it were turned within by a conscious *contrapposto* movement which heralds the end of the medieval relief conception embodied in the works of Andrea Pisano.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Regarding his birth date, see the excellent article on Andrea Pisano by J. Lányi in the *Thieme-Becker Lexicon*, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogue* of the Pisan Exhibition, 1946, no. 194.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding Ghiberti's datings in Olympiads, see Richard Krautheimer, *Art Bulletin*, 1947.

<sup>4</sup> A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte Italiana*, III, p. 720.

<sup>5</sup> Nardini-Despotti, *Il Campanile di S. Maria del Fiore*, 1885; W. Paatz, *Trecento Architektur in Toscana*, 1937, pp. 129-136.

<sup>6</sup> Reproduced in Paatz, *op. cit.*, pl. 118.

<sup>7</sup> They were first rightly attributed to Arnolli by L. Beccherucci, *L'Arte*, 1927.

<sup>8</sup> R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, 1901, III, 674.

<sup>9</sup> There is still another possibility which might explain why the author of the Spina *Madonna* was not mentioned in the Bigallo contract. Perhaps Alberto Arnolli, who was undoubtedly Andrea's pupil, was one of the assistants in the execution of this statue. It is quite possible that he accompanied Andrea to Pisa in 1343 after





Fig. 21. Rear view of Figure 20



Fig. 22. Rear view of Figure 19

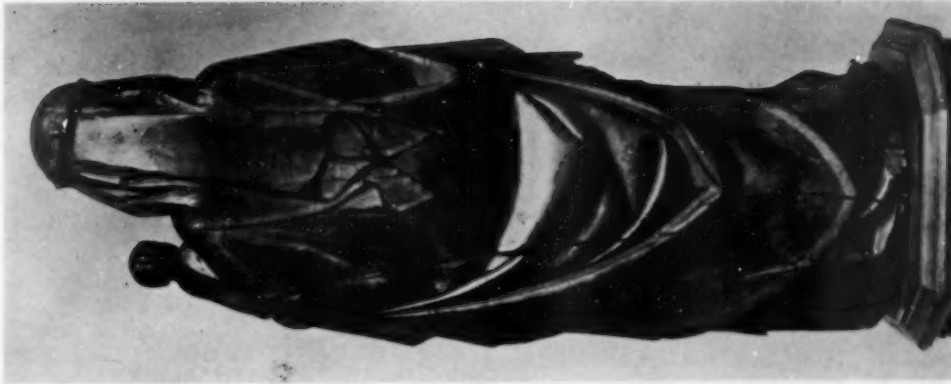


Fig. 23. FRENCH, XIV CENTURY  
Rear view of *Madonna stathette*  
(boxwood)



Fig. 24. NINO PISANO, *Head of Madonna Statue (Marble)*  
Florence, S. Maria Novella



Fig. 25. *Detail of Figure 20*

assisting him with the execution of the Campanile reliefs of the seven Sacraments. He is first mentioned in Florence in connection with work on the Cathedral in 1351.

<sup>10</sup> G. Poggi, *Il duomo di Firenze, documenti*, Berlin, 1909, p. xxvii; and G. Kauffmann, *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1926.

<sup>11</sup> Reproduced in *Art in America*, 1927.

<sup>12</sup> J. Lányi, Thieme-Becker, *op. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> I. B. Supino, *Arte Pisana*, 1904, p. 234.

<sup>14</sup> E. Carli, *L'Arte*, 1934.

<sup>15</sup> Another detail is reproduced in my book on Tino da Camaino (Fig. 18) to whom it was once incorrectly attributed by Adolfo Venturi. It is not impossible that the tomb is the work of Giovanni and Pace da Firenze, who must have had some reputation in Florence before they were invited, probably by King Robert, to Naples. Their style derived from Andrea Pisano.

<sup>16</sup> J. Lányi, *L'Arte*, 1933. The present article was written before I became acquainted with L. Beccherucci's review of the Pisan exhibition of 1946 in the *Burlington Magazine* of March, 1947. She expresses the same opinion as my own in giving the Spina Madonna to Andrea Pisano and stressing his importance as the originator of the style which is usually connected with his son, a view which followed logically from Lányi's discovery and which seems to have become common property of those students of Trecento art who visited the recent exhibition in Pisa. M. Weinberger, in his article on Nino Pisano (*Art Bulletin*, 1937) opposed Lányi's opinions and reverted to the earlier conception in the somewhat negativistic attitude generally characteristic of this scholar. It seems useless to go into details regarding his unjustified apportioning of the works of Andrea and Nino among assistants, pupils and followers. In a similarly unjustified and disservice manner, in two other publications (*Warburg Institute Journal*, 1939, and *Pantheon*, 1928), Weinberger separates Arnolfo di Cambio into two personalities and finds that the Arca of St. Cerbone in Massa Maritima, signed by Goro di Gregorio, was executed by two different sculptors. In the article on Nino he exaggerates the French influence, which, although it existed, was active mostly in exterior features such as motifs of drapery, etc. It would be better to stress the differences between the Italian and the French sculptors of this period, the latter being more conventional and self-conscious than the naïve and individualistic Italians. Furthermore, Weinberger, while deriding other scholars' opinions as unsound, takes for granted things which have in no way been proved. For instance there is his statement of "the school of French sculptors who worked in Pisa in the twenties . . ." Even if the two isolated statues at Carrara (the pedigree of the Madonna in the Berlin Museum is quite uncertain) were French and not the work of an Italian who had been to France—which is quite possible—what would this prove for Pisa? It may well be questioned whether any Italian city in a period of severe guild regulations would have suffered a foreign school of craftsmen.

<sup>17</sup> Due to the War the connection between the scholarly activities in the different countries is still incomplete. While the most widely known art magazines of Europe can be found in complete files in our libraries, several minor publications often containing important articles in special fields are still difficult to obtain. This refers especially to periodicals from Italy where the study of Trecento art has advanced to a considerable degree in recent years without our being aware of it on this side of the ocean. After a better acquaintance with this literature, I find myself having to append a few additional notes to the present article as well as to the one on Balducci and Gano in a previous issue of *The Art Quarterly* (X, 1947, 40). To my surprise I found that E. Carli had already published the polychromed wood statue of the *Annunciate*, reproduced here, also under the name of Andrea Pisano, in the February, 1947, number of the *Emporium*. My belief that it was a work of Andrea's harks back to studies in Italy of at least a decade ago, but I had never dared publish this attribution as I knew the skepticism of some of my colleagues who were used to dating the statue towards the end of the century. Only after the date 1321 was discovered on its base did I venture to express my opinion. The same scholar, in an earlier number of the same magazine (April, 1943) had published as a work of Balducci the seated Madonna on the exterior of S. Maria della Spina, which some years ago I had tentatively attributed to the surroundings of Andrea Pisano (*L'Arte*, 1933). Carli is undoubtedly right in his observations which are based upon better photographs than those which I had at my disposal, and I am sorry that I left out this important statue which establishes Balducci at work in Pisa towards the middle of the twenties. Also, L. Beccherucci has come to the same conclusion as Carli (*Burlington Magazine*, March, 1947). In the above mentioned article Carli accepts the Detroit Madonna published by me first in the exhibition *Catalogue of Italian Gothic and Renaissance Sculptures in Detroit*, as the work of Balducci. The problem of Gano has become very involved since the establishment of his death not later than 1318. The document referring to his death, found by Milanese, was published again by W. Cohn Goerke (*Rivista d'Arte*, 1939); additional documents were later brought out by the well-known Siennese archivist, Peleo Bacci (*Fonti e Commenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese*, 1944). As Ranieri del Porrina, upon whose statue Gano's fame in modern times is based, died in 1335, we must either believe that this statue was created during Ranieri's lifetime, as Carli holds, or that the sculptor who created it was not Gano. This latter supposition is accepted by Cohn Goerke and P. Bacci, while H. Keller maintains, without sufficient reason, that Gano lived until the year of the pestilence, 1348. For stylistic reasons I believe it is impossible to date the statue as early as 1312-13, which is the only time it could have been executed if so done within Ranieri's lifetime (see E. Carli, "Archivista e Critica d'Arte," *Emporium*, April-June, 1944). I am convinced that the later dating, middle of the thirties, which is accepted by most of the critics, is correct. This tallies with the supposed date of the sculptures at Cremona which I find to be by the same hand. But who was the remarkable sculptor of these works if he were not Gano? The attribution of the Cremona sculptures agrees with the theory of Cohn Goerke and Bacci that he was a North Italian, or that he at least worked in Northern Italy. I intend to elaborate on this theory in a forthcoming article.



## FIVE BAROQUE DON QUIXOTE TAPESTRIES

By PHYLLIS ACKERMAN

**D**ON QUIXOTE was an omnipresent tapestry hero of the eighteenth century. In 1712 Jean van Orley provided the figural groups and Augustin Coppins the landscape backgrounds for six or seven illustrations of the romance, their combined efforts resulting in *verdures à personnages* in the usual style of the time: a stereotype forest with a theatrical scene in small scale in the foreground. The designs take little advantage of the vivid qualities of Cervantes' text, yet they were persistently popular, repeatedly woven in several different Brussels shops, and also apparently in Lille.

Meanwhile, in 1718, the more famous and even more persistently popular Gobelins series, which in the end comprised twenty-eight illustrations, had been created, with scenes by Charles Coypel. These were conceived, however, as little more than a focus for the wide and elaborate frames which were supplied, in varying interpretations of the rich and elegant Louis XV decorative manner, by a succession of Gobelins painters, including Audran and Desportes. Owing to this subordination of the small picture to the complex ornamental field, the Spanish masterpiece was again inadequately honored.

This, moreover, is hardly less true of the Spanish set of ten main pieces and various accessories, devised in 1727-1729 by Andrea Procaccini, probably with more or less collaboration from Domenigo Marie Sani; for while the scenes are allowed priority, they are commonplace and more or less awkward genre subjects, quite lacking the brilliance of situation and the cutting insight which Cervantes had achieved.

The fourth eighteenth century Quixote interpretation, however, is less unsatisfactory: a series of ten painted by Charles Natoire, in 1735, for the Beauvais works. To be sure, the episodes are treated like moments from a French opera, with the pretentious sets of which opera is still usually the victim; but for this very reason they have something of the appropriate bombast and overemphasis, though there is still none of the needed intensity and incisiveness.

The trouble was that the eighteenth century, true to its spirit, was merely playing over the surface of Don Quixote, reducing its ironic comedy to a titter or at best a chuckle, missing the wry smile.

Cervantes demanded the robustness of his own age. But of tapestry renditions from that time, the only remains up to now have been a single line in one inventory—that of Kilkenny Castle, drawn up in 1652, listing a set of "five



new tapestry hangings, concerning the History of Don Quixote."<sup>1</sup>

Recently, however, five panels have appeared, unique in treatment yet unmistakably of the first half of the seventeenth century, and if not actually those once in Kilkenny, very probably from the same cartoons, since no other Quixote tapestries of the century are known. At any rate, here at last are designs with the verve, the originality, the energy, the wit, the infusion of harmless insanity which the satire needs. And at the same time, just as tapestries these are among the very few wholly successful products in the Baroque style, which offered such brilliant possibilities for the medium.

No wonder they found their way to Ireland. They are the only witty tapestries known; and the conception and treatment are unique in that the decorative means, from basic scheme to incidental details, are metamorphosed to the expression of the psychical quality of the theme. The distortions, the arbitrary misapprehensions, the random associations of Quixote's excited brain, even the excitement itself, are realized in the design, without, moreover, sacrificing the equally important function of decoration. To meet the unprecedented needs of Cervantes' literary grotesque, the artist has developed to new possibilities an old form of *grotesquerie*.

From great coiling acanthus-scrolls—derived from early Byzantine exaggerations, as in the Dome of the Rock mosaics, of a late Roman type—emerge the fantastic individuals of ironically caricatured chivalry, gone a bit crazy. Naiads and erotes had flowered on foliate stems in Roman mosaics, but from these gigantic springing Baroque vegetables the personalities fairly burst into gesticulating bloom. The thick, succulent stems and leaves sweep and twist, their veinous blue-green aglisten with sun. Here and there a curling frond has taken on autumn tones, red or rusty violet. Enwrapping ribbons bind the sprays lest they sprawl from sheer excess of vitality, but themselves break loose in agitated flutters.

The design of the first piece (Fig. 1) begins at the very beginning of the tale, the account "of the first sally that Don Quixote made to seeke adventures (I. I. II). He travelled all day long," as Robert Shelton's approximately contemporary translation recounts,

and at night both he and his horse were tyred . . . he perceived an Inne . . . he hyed all he might towards it. . . . There stood by chance at the Inne dore, two young women adventurers likewise . . . The In-keeper . . . being a man who by reason of his exceeding fatnesse must needs have been of a very peaceable condition . . . determined to speak him fairely . . . you may boldly allight . . . for one night . . . [said he; so all entered and at once] Don Quixote was a-disarm-

ing by both the damzels who . . . though they had taken off his brest-plate and backe parts, yet knew they not how . . . [to] take off his counterfeit Beaver . . . and therefore [he] remained all the night with his Helmet on . . . [and] by reason his Helmet was on . . . it was altogether impossible to give him drinke . . . and would have remayned so for ever, if the In-keeper had not boared a Cane, and setting the one end in his mouth, poured down the wine at the other.<sup>3</sup>

And even thus do we see the performance: the wizened, hook-nosed knight, firmly tied into the improvised helmet, which trails a panoply of draggled red and white plumes, and clutching to his breast his target. Wherein the designer has gone Cervantes one better by rendering the precious target as a carved and gilded wood scrolling bracket, emphatically Baroque, wrested from some moldering monument. The "In-keeper," meanwhile, duly depicted in his "exceeding fatnesse," is busily pouring wine down the Don's gullet—through, however, not the Cane which he is alleged to have "boared," but a very long tin horn, suggesting that he had borrowed the swineherd's instrument whose blast Quixote had accepted as heralding the importance of his arrival. As a footnote to the nonsense, the horn is decorated with a grimacing mask. Moreover, the mad confusion is enhanced by having the Inn-keeper's back to the audience so that he is an ambiguity of snaky yellow locks on a slit red shirt, and pointed cap. The two buxom blond damsels watch from the left, one in a red and yellow changeable silk dress, the other in a red cloak over a blue dress with white lights.

Celebrating this episode with tooting conch is a blond-bearded satyr, his loosely knotted loin-cloth of absurdly delicate white satin, rosy-shadowed, a foliate shield, neither leaf nor armor, on backwards and inverted, the dishevelment of his hair springing into plant-plumes and rustling rushes.

The lower half of the composition, bound to the first by the continuity of the scrolling stems, depicts:

Chapter III, Wherein is recounted the pleasant manner observed in the Knighting of Don-Quixote . . . hee called for his host, and . . . laid himselfe down upon his knees . . . saying, I will never rise from the place where I am valorous Knight untill your cortesie shall graunt unto me . . . that to morrow . . . you will dubbe me Knight . . . The Host . . . resolved to feed his humour . . . determined . . . to give him the unfortunate order of Knighthood forthwith . . . he . . . brought out a booke presently, wherein he was wont to write down the accounts of the straw and Barley . . . and . . . accompanied by the two damzels . . . he came to Don-Quixote, whom he commanded to kneele upon his knees, and reading in his Manual . . . he . . . gave him a good blow with his owne



*Fig. 1. BAROQUE DON QUIXOTE TAPESTRY, Don Quixote is given a drink through a horn; the Don is knighted*



*Fig. 2. BAROQUE DON QUIXOTE TAPESTRY, Don Quixote tilts at windmills; he meets the Lady of Biscaine*





Fig. 3. BAROQUE DON QUIXOTE TAPESTRY, *The Clothiers and Point-makers at the Inn toss Sancho in a blanket*



Fig. 4. BAROQUE DON QUIXOTE TAPESTRY, *The Inn-Keeper's daughter and Maritornes tie the Don up by the hands*



sword . . . this being done he commanded one of the Ladies to gyrd on his sword which shee did with a singular good grace and . . . said, God make you a fortunate Knight . . . Don-Quixote demanded then how she was called . . . And she answered Tolosa . . . The other Lady buckled on his spurre . . . and . . . she told him shee was called Molinera . . .<sup>3</sup>

As the Don kneels, his armor, which he had worked so hard to polish, is shown to the best advantage, the corselet scalloped with exclamatory masks, as if in comment; but his helmet-panache has been plucked—doubtless in intervening scrambles with two carters—to wisps. The sword which Tolosa prepares to "gyrd" on him has as pommel an eagle's head which caricatures the knight's own hungry aquiline profile. The Inn-keeper, in his "fatnesse," is just behind the Don, his Barley and straw account-book, well scrawled over, open in his left hand, his right holding aloft the sword with which he is about to smite his deluded victim. His cap is oddly ensigned of a miniature shears, and he is in truth a villainous varlet. Molinera, the bucolic wench, is behind him holding the "spurre."

The scene is surveyed by a shock-headed putto, straining out of an acanthus cabbage to struggle with a parakeet, whose body is a bellows, whose head an arum, with a candle spadix-crest, epitomizing the scrap-bag improvisations of the Don's wandering wits and thereby forecasting surrealism, but achieving a genuine invention and satire on the silly, far beyond the contrivances of the effortful Dali.

The roisterous madness likewise inspires other riotous details. Out of the petals like twitching fingers hangs a ripening seed-cluster made from a mold of glistening wine jelly. An acanthus-segment sheaths a curving cone that decides to be a fish-tail. A lily gives birth to an over-lobed snail and the whole thing trails, as blossom-end, from a pomegranate which is really a puff of red satin. An Indian exaggeration of a late Hellenistic false flower explodes a rocket, imbricated and couched. A tiger lily dangles a ball and tassel. Grapes have bred with a pine cone.

The second piece sustains the same high-keyed maudlin fantasy inspiring brilliant decoration. Quixote has now won the adherence of Sancho:

Don-Quixote dealt with a certain labourer his neighbour . . . of a very shallow wit . . . and . . . the poore fellow determined to goe away with him and serve him as his Squire . . .

—I. I. VIII

and thus escorted, the Don has ridden forth for his second adventure. Soon they discovered some thirty or forty Windmills . . . "thirty or forty monstuous

Giants" . . . and saying so he spurd his horse Rozinante . . . and encountered with the first mill that was before him.<sup>4</sup>

On the tapestry (Fig. 2), Quixote, his lance set, rides full-tilt against the windmill, while Sancho, a snub-nosed half-wit with occasional teeth knocked out, grimaces and gestures in the attempt to make his gentleman understand that his thrashing opponents are not defiant giants. The mill is in triplicate to indicate the multiplicity of the enemy, and through Quixote's crazy eyes one sees the sails sprouting extra blades of enormous feathers, and the buildings tailed with plumes.

Above, on the heavy acanthus stem of never-never-land botany, embellished with beautifully drawn vine leaves at this point, and flowering into campanulae and other, name-defying blossoms, strung with beads or flaring into scrolls, coils a fearsome serpent. Again the designer by embroidering the text has the better realized its spirit. And as another, minor invention, envisaging and amplifying the madman's dream, a wind-cherub head whirls the mill-sails with his breath, which also has blown off his own harlequin cap and set his gold locks swirling.

Below, the same chapter (VIII) is continued, with the exploit of the Biscaine Lady:

There came . . . a certain Biscaine Lady, which travelled towards Sivil . . . a certaine Biscaine Squire that accompanied the Coach . . . seeing that Don-Quixote suffered not the Coach to pass onward . . . said in his bad Spanish and worse Basquish . . . if thou leave not the Coach I will kill thee . . . Don-Quixote . . . out with his sword and rooke his Buckler, and set on the Biscaine with resolution to kill him. The Biscaine seeing his approach in that manner, although he desired to alight off his Mule, which was not to be trusted, yet had he no leisure to do any other thing, than to draw out his sword: but it befell him happily to be neere the Coach, out of which he snatched a cushion that served him for a shield: and presently the one made upon the other like mortal enemies.<sup>5</sup>

The scene as presented is the muddle of glamor and confusion that Quixote experiences. The Biscaine Lady's Coach is no rattle-trap hired carriage, but a rich chariot built of acanthus leaves, twirling and gilt, that merge in the general foliate scheme. It is adorned above with a dolphin and below, on the dash, with an impossible elephant-mask. The latter holds in its jaws the scaly tail of the sea-mule, which both draws the equipage as one of a pair and serves as mount for the Biscaine Squire, a visual fusion that might well have been engendered in Quixote's manic mental murk. The Squire, in a yellow silk doublet and

white, plumed hat, clutching a green silk cushion as shield, is a choleric blond with pretentiously curled moustaches and wispy chin-tassel, and his mule's ostentatious caparison, as revealed to Quixote's medieval bedazzlement, trails into the general foliation. He, Quixote, and Rozinante—the last two half-turning backwards—look equally apprehensive as they prepare to display their valor; and the chaotic futility is completed by Sancho taking refuge in the opposite direction, leading his ass.

The third piece (Fig. 3), a smaller vertical panel, shows the famous episode of Sancho tossed in a blanket when he has refused to pay the Inn-keeper, on the ground that a knight-errant does not shelter himself commercially—an anecdote invariably exploited by Cervantes' illustrators (I. III. III). The four Segovia Clothiers and the three Cordova Point-makers are reduced to four fantastic gentlemen, two with elaborately slashed doublets advertising their trade, the two others Punchinellos, shown in profile the better to exhibit their stock-comedy noses. The Seville Hucksters meanwhile have undertaken to play audience, and one, impudently gross featured, sits a stretch-gallop horse offering a bunch of leaves; but his confrère has thrown himself off his mount in a convulsion of laughter so violent that he is buried head-first to his waist in the broken acanthus-trunk, whence his bare legs emerge through a foliate rosette, kicking out of short drawers in uninterrupted spasmodic merriment. The curl of the toes expresses the gasping gurgles. His horse has become, ludicrously, an animal-head finial on the scroll. So, too, the luckless squire as he jounces into the air clutches leafy hair with leafy fingers and from being almost a satyr is fast becoming a vegetable.

The fourth piece (Fig. 4), a still narrower vertical panel perhaps designed as an *entre-fenêtre*, illustrates Don Quixote's misadventure when he was gallantly mounting night-guard on Rozinante at the Inn, and the Inn-keeper's daughter together with the excessively obliging maid-servant, Maritornes, tricked him with lovelorn pretexts (I. IV. XVI). Ever faithful to Dulcinea, he denies his love to the yearning damsel, impersonated by the daughter, but consents generously to allow her to touch his hand. In order to fulfill his boon he stands on Rozinante's saddle and reaches up his arm towards the women's voices above. Whereupon the merciless wenches tie him by the wrist, dooming him to balance the rest of the night on his uncertain perch.

Cervantes staged the hoax at the hole which served as the sole window of the squalid hostelry, but here Quixote pays for his vanity by being semi-suspended from a tree, for this permits the designer to continue the acanthus-



scroll structure of his composition. Into this scroll all the actors are literally incorporated, Rozinante becoming an acanthus-trimmed hippokamp. The crude seventeenth century farce with which Cervantes pads his own personal sophisticated buffoonery in this and similar incidents, is conveyed in the types of the women: the Inn-keeper's daughter a lump-handed, adenoidal rustic deficient, Maritornes a bestial deformity. A Flemish mind and hand are obvious here.

Finally, in the largest composition of all (Fig. 5), Don Quixote is carried home from the Inn escorted by the heterogeneous company (I. IV. XX), and below, he meets the strolling players, a conjunction a bit strained narratively, since the second event comes considerably later in the text (II. III. XI), but justified pictorially because Cervantes in both instances heightened his tale with masquerade. Thus the two can be treated as a continuous circus procession which runs from the upper right corner through a flat curve on the opposite side into the zone beneath, ending in the lower right corner.

The Barber and the Curate, whose charitable intrigue caused the Don to be conveyed away from the Inn in temporary durance vile, bring up at the rear, decked out in fearsome false heads such as still serve in the traditional Spanish Fête-Dieu foolery. The cart where the Don lies caged, escorted by the two officers with their firelocks and followed by Sancho on his mule, is rendered as an ox-quadrige with the field-beasts converted into bull-fish, festively adorned in garlands, branches, plumes and a peacock feather bearing inexplicably a stupid visage.

On the left of the lower band, as if preceding all this, is Angula's company on its way to repeat the "Parliament of Death" in the next town, their cart a scrolled and fretted triumph-float driven by Cupid, with the Emperor, the Queen and the massively beplumed Knight as passengers, while the Angel, Death and the Devil (with owl-mask) run alongside. The challenging Knight-Errant and his Squire block the way, and behind them is a jester clowning imbecility, while two of the Supers pack into a slatted crate, treated to hint maliciously at the Ark of the Covenant, a mask of Tragedy alias Goliath.

The designer has intensified the medieval burlesque in this riotous climax by converting the presentation into a parody of the Petrarchian Triumphs—a tapestry theme of a century earlier—muddled together. The ox-car having suggested the Triumph of Fate which was conventionally enacted on an ox-car, he tucks into the foliage above, Pandora's coiling winged asp which was one of the symbolic appurtenances of this theme, and similarly provides the near



wheel-ox with pseudo-symbolic hooves in the form of serpent heads. In the actors' cavalcade he stirs together the Triumph of the Eucharist and the Triumph of Love, borrowing from the first the standard figure of Charlemagne for the Emperor and the evangelical angel of Matthew, and from the second the Eros charioteer. The chariot, moreover, is carved with Voluptas—the winged female with full and pointed breasts—the head of a Moor hinting at the oriental eroticisms which were besprinkling popular romances at that time, and a gentleman on the back of the car, pointed in eagerness. All this elaborate grandiloquence is dashed from the would-be sublime to the blatantly ridiculous by feed-bags on some of the horses' noses.

Like the symbolism and other secondary references in the cartoons, the flowers—which add alike to the gayety, the absurdity and the elegance of the presentations—testify to the painter's erudition. For while they were evidently immediately suggested by the flowering-tree patterns of the Indian *pintados* which were abundant at this period in European markets, they are inflated with late Hellenistic and Roman phantasies, evolutions especially of the vine, the pomegranate and the arum.

Throughout, a pale blue background, like a hot, whitish southern sky, provides proper decorative atmosphere—the necessary ambience for the teeming vigor of the designs—in welcome relief from the usual Baroque realistic perspective.

Where could such unprecedented panels have been produced? Seventeenth century tapestry is regimented in a few, large, readily recognizable schools. These pieces stand alone.

Alone, but not quite unrelated; for the border of a *grande verdure*<sup>6</sup> is composed of the same scrolls and flowers, more discreetly handled as is fitting, and from some of the clusters emerge erotes and youthful fauns who are the better-mannered cousins of those applauding the addle-pated Don. Essentially the same style of *rinceaux* with erotes was in use at about this same time in the Van den Planken shop in Paris,<sup>7</sup> but in a more conventional, less robust treatment.

In the foreground of the *grande verdure* are turkeys, rare at the time, and these birds stand likewise in the foreground of a mid-sixteenth century *grande verdure* with acanthus-derived foliation.<sup>8</sup> But both these *verdures* are, in turn, descended from one with an ostrich, lion, griffon and peacock<sup>9</sup> which Jan Vermeyen had designed in 1528 for Marguerite of Austria, to be woven in an Enghien shop. So close, indeed, is the connection between that and the two-

generation-removed designer of the Quixote grotesques, that the acanthus scrolls can be traced from the one to the other. Moreover, the turkeys had also been used by Vermeyen in the center of one of the Vertumnus and Pomona cartoons which have been convincingly attributed to him.<sup>10</sup>

The acanthus *grandes verdures* were, while not an exclusive prerogative, a specialty of Enghien, and the Enghien connection of the Quixote set is further affirmed by a table cover<sup>11</sup> contemporary with it, which not only has the same quality of drawing and lighting, but also similar scrolls, including in the border figural scrolls; for this bears the marks of both Enghien and the Enghien weaver, Henderick Van der Cammen, as well as the arms of Albert de Tamison (d. 1657), who was Governor of Enghien.

Between Vermeyen's foliate scrolls and these subsequent developments therefrom, embellished with *personnages*, there were intermediate links, lost though they now seem to be; for a document of 1577 lists seven pieces "ouvraige d'engien nommé volgairement rotesque (grotesque) contenant diverses figures et ymaiges d'hommes, bestes, satyres et semblables choses."<sup>12</sup> This sounds like an antecedent of the Quixote designs.

That the Quixote panels were, then, Enghien productions is highly probable, and they may even tentatively be assigned to the Van der Cammen shops, for a series of six *Boscaiges* with animals,<sup>13</sup> mostly animal combat groups, of this same time, all bear the name of that same Henderick who made the Tamison table cover, and they show not only the same treatment of foliation outlines and high-lights as the Quixote set but also the same technical quality. Both, that is, are unusually fine—the *Boscaiges* about twenty-one warps to the inch, the Quixotes about nineteen—and both are woven with very fine wool warps and a great amount of silk. The very large proportion of silk in the Quixote panels is quite exceptional for the period.

The cartoon painter, though his handiwork can be suspected in other Enghien tapestries, should not be sought in Enghien, for to him can be traced likewise two borders used by an outstanding Brussels weaver of this period, Jean Raes. The first, used on certain Vertumnus and Pomona renditions, but also on a series with motives from the history of Diana and other Classic myths,<sup>14</sup> consists of the same style of foliate scrolls with decorative flowers and emerging figures: in the upper corners, Venus facing Mars; in the lower, Faunus and Fatua; midway of each side an Eros; and in the center, top and bottom, symmetrical groups of a satyr, a maenad and a putto. The second Raes

border<sup>15</sup> shows Nikê merged with foliate scrolls, grotesque masks, dolphins and shells, and fruits.

Throughout, the common authorship is clear. The putto struggling with the bellows-bird on the first Quixote panel, with globular hard-rubber cheeks and—most distinctive—little, curved, parrot-beak nose, appears in three-quarter view on either side towards the bottom of the *grande verdure* scroll-border. Venus in the first Raes border is the Biscaine Lady, Faunus the Faunus-triton of the initial Quixote scene. Again, the foliate Nikê of the second Raes border is a close relative of Tolosa, and the masks in the upper right corner achieve ugliness with some of the same features that serve for Sancho's visage on his first introduction.

The additional Enghien tapestries apparently betraying the same hand are the series of *Boscaiges*, signed Henderick Van der Cammen, where Erotes in the upper border closely resemble the others in the series.

Can he be named, this cartoon designer, who at his best, as in the Quixotes, was so very good indeed? The parrot-nosed, rubber-ball-faced little boys are standard with Cornelis Schut, reappearing in his engravings in various guises, but chiefly as the infant Jesus.<sup>16</sup> High-domed heads, on the other hand, are also one of his recurrent peculiarities, as on the Venus and the youthful Bacchus in a drawing for an *Allegory of Plenty* in the British Museum; and this form of skull is used for the profile Eros in the upper left side of the Turkey-verdure border, and the satyr sounding a triumphal note while Quixote has the wine doused down his throat, and again in Schut's long-recognized tapestries, the *Seven Liberal Arts*, notably in the *Grammatica*,<sup>17</sup> where the pupil almost duplicates the Eros in the verdure border, and the old man entering the door is the counterpart of the Quixote satyr.

Likewise, the Tolosa-Molinera type, thick-throated, heavy-chinned, is used for Abundantia in his *Allegory of Plenty*, while the broad-nosed, bearded rustic who takes the part of Sancho is utilized in a less vulgar version as the companion of Telemachus in a Schut illustration for *Mentor and Telemachus*, formerly in the V. Winthrop Newman collection.<sup>18</sup> Even the Quixotic impulse towards the grotesque finds an unexpected outlet in a *Martyrdom of a Saint* in the Johnson collection,<sup>19</sup> where a nightmare, bat-winged fiend, fit companion of Quixote's dragon, hovers above the scene. And here a minor detail raises the question of how intentional was the caricature effect of the eagle pommel on the Don's sword, for the eagles on a pedestal, though presumably sculptured, similarly have a strangely personal look.



Cornelis Schut, the Elder (1597-1655), who was already Master in Antwerp in 1618-19, was a third-rate painter, and hardly better, if at all, as an engraver; but his already attributed tapestries are among the most successful of his time, and the addition of these more fittingly decorative Quixote tapestry designs to his credit, raises him to the top level among Baroque cartoon-painters.

<sup>1</sup> H. Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, I, Leipzig, 1923, I, 216.

<sup>2</sup> R. Shelton (trans.), *The History of Don Quixote* . . . 1612, 1620; reprinted London, 1896, I, 31-35.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 67-71.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74-77.

<sup>6</sup> Göbel, *op. cit.*, II, 1929, II, Fig. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Ackerman, "Three French Renaissance Tapestries," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, April, 1946, p. 211, Fig. 3.

<sup>8</sup> L. Baldass, *Die Wiener Gobelinsammlung*, Vienna, 1920, II, pl. 102.

<sup>9</sup> Göbel, *op. cit.*, I, II, Fig. 475.

<sup>10</sup> C. M. Ffoulke, *The Ffoulke Collection of Tapestries*, New York, 1913, pl. op. p. 49. The Vermeyen attribution was established by M. Crick-Kunziger, "Tapisseries de l'Histoire de Vertumne et Pomone," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 3ème série, no. 4, Brussels, 1929, pp. 74. ff.

<sup>11</sup> J. Destrée, P. Van den Ven, *Tapisseries*, Brussels, 1929, pl. 35.

<sup>12</sup> Göbel, *op. cit.*, I, I, p. 523.

<sup>13</sup> W. G. Thomson, *A Description of the Engbrien Tapestries in the Collection of Messrs. Lenygon*, London, s.d.

<sup>14</sup> Ffoulke, *loc. cit.*; also pls. op. pp. 86, 87; and Göbel, *op. cit.*, I, II, Fig. 104.

<sup>15</sup> Göbel, *op. cit.*, Fig. 178.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Metropolitan Museum of Art; Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, II, 66, 11. The writer is indebted for this reference to Mr. A. Hyatt Mayor.

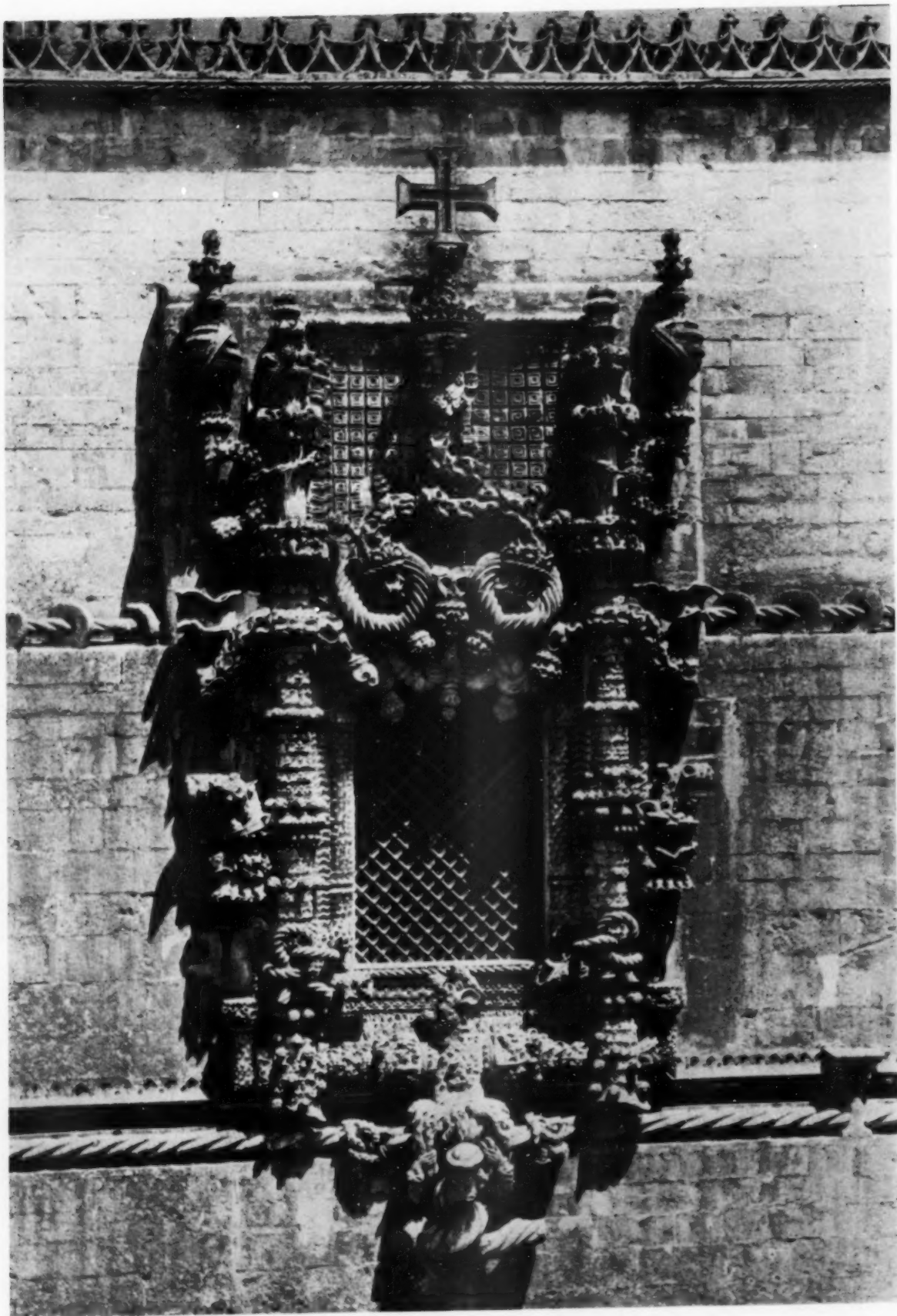
<sup>17</sup> Göbel, *op. cit.*, Fig. 296.

<sup>18</sup> American Art Galleries, March 8, 1913, no. 14; these drawings were studied through photographs in the Frick Library Photograph Collection.

<sup>19</sup> W. R. Valentiner, *Catalogue*, Philadelphia, 1913, II, no. 675.



*Fig. 5. BAROQUE DON QUIXOTE TAPESTRY, The Don is carried away from the Inn in a cage; he meets the company of strolling players*



*Fig. 1. Window of the Chapter-House of the Order of Christ  
Thomar*



## THE WINDOW AT THOMAR— A MONUMENT TO VASCO DA GAMA, THE PORTUGUESE ARGONAUT *By* EMIL DELMÁR

**A**MONG the many sumptuous works of art produced during the reign of Manuel the Fortunate, the famous window (Fig. 1) of the western façade of the Chapter House (Fig. 2) of the Order of Christ at Thomar holds a unique place. In the present article we shall try to reveal its lost meaning and to prove our conviction that the window was originally intended as a monument to Vasco da Gama. We hope to make clear the reasons for the abandonment of the original plan after the work had already progressed considerably. We shall demonstrate that the original meaning of the window still can be traced and revealed, although obscured by a clever camouflage of later alterations.

The ancient town of Thomar with its medieval castle and fortified walls, once the locale of the Knights Templar and then of the Order of Christ, provides an admirable setting for the commemoration of Portugal's heroes. Thomar is a living picture book of the history of Portugal to which, from the twelfth century on, every epoch has contributed illustrious pages of architecture and art.

The window in question is a monument of supreme artistic worth. No work on old Portuguese art fails to show the window. It appeals so powerfully to the layman that pictures of it are on sale in shops throughout Portugal. Its popular call in this country has something of the same quality as the three flagpoles of St. Mark's or the two columns of the Piazzetta have for Venice.

The design of the window is highly original with its almost brutal masses of the heavy fittings of a ship and the mementoes of a naval enterprise. There are masts, sail, ropes, wooden disks to guard the ropes from fraying, chains, corals and marine plants. Dominating the whole window is a bust of a man, placed in the most prominent position, in the center of the lower window frame. He is tied with strong hawsers to the frame and clings with both hands to what appear to be the roots of an oak tree. The crowning of the window by the royal coat-of-arms of Portugal, and the spherical globe, personal emblem of Manuel, evidence its importance.

In art literature the monument is classified under the heading of "Manueline art of the maritime discoveries," a classification which is too general and

does not concern itself with the special place it occupies within this art. The man below the window has been identified by Racinski, Haupt and Watson<sup>1</sup> (all referring to an old Portuguese tradition) as Ayres de Quintal, the architect and sculptor of the window. This identification has proved incorrect, as the window is now known to be the work of Diego da Arruda.<sup>2</sup> Guimarães,<sup>3</sup> in his little book about Thomar, reproduces the bust of the man with the caption: "Monument of Christ—The sailor clinging to the roots of an oak in the window of the west Façade."

Undoubtedly the bust of the man (Fig. 4) is the pivotal problem of the window. As indicated above, the writers' opinions are divided on whether it is a portrait or an ideal invention of the artist. We support the first alternative. Guimarães' idea of an anonymous sailor is a modern notion, unconsciously based upon the "Unknown Soldier" of World War I. Moreover, when inspecting the man's features thoroughly we discover an even more convincing argument: the distance from mouth to nose is almost as wide as the length of the nose (Fig. 4). This deformed and ugly upper lip excludes the possibility of an ideal invention. This first question settled, we are faced with a second one: who is the man portrayed? Though differing on this point, all the writers agree that it is the sculptor-architect of the window. We cannot accept this opinion. It can be regarded as an uncodified law among artists that, whenever they insert their own image into a work of their own, it never appears in a prominent place. We also must not forget that at this epoch the artist's social standing was still relatively low: he ranked with the simple artisan. The person set in such an important place must have been a prominent one. But where, then, can we turn in quest of such a person? We think that the monument itself gives us a clue whereby we can answer this question. The man tied with ship's hawsers in such a central place on the "Monument of Portugal's maritime discoveries" must have been a prominent navigator associated with these discoveries. We believe that the bust, later on camouflaged, originally was intended as a portrait of Vasco da Gama. Besides the elimination of other possibilities we believe there are other proofs to justify our opinion.

None of the writers quoted above has explained the presence of an oak tree among almost exclusively maritime symbols. The strangeness of this motif is intensified by the circumstance that, inasmuch as the roots of the tree are visible, the tree appears to hang, or better, float in the air. So far none of the writers has attempted to solve the enigma of why a man should cling with

both hands to the roots of an uprooted tree which must surely fall upon his head. The absurdity of the design is apparent even in its verbal description. There can be no doubt of the ingenuity of the artist; yet it is impossible to conceive that he would have designed such an absurd group for a monument of such prominence. How, then, can the composition be explained?

Our answer is that the initial plan of the monument was different; that it was altered during the course of execution, when important parts of it already had been completed and could no longer be eliminated. In other words, a second design has been superimposed on the original one and the resulting design is a mixture of both. We maintain that the monument originally was destined as a new Argonautica to glorify the exploits and achievements of Vasco da Gama's enterprise. The original idea, we believe, was to represent the moment when the Portuguese Jason seized the golden fleece, carrying it away on his back and holding it by the feet with both hands. This is the traditional way in which artists from the archaic period on have represented the shepherd carrying his sheep<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 5).

Our assertion is not merely corroborated by negative proof such as the absurdity of the group of a mariner and an oak tree, but by more positive and, we hope, convincing evidence. As a preliminary argument we allude to a motif unconnected with naval life. There is a flame-like border on the window which, to the casual observer, may seem to be merely a decorative motif. Inasmuch as this flame-like border frames the window on both sides, i.e., outside as well as inside the Chapter House (Fig. 3), we are convinced that it has a meaning. Flames are an integral part of the emblem of the Order of the Golden Fleece which is composed—in addition to the fleece itself—of a piece of steel and a flint encompassed by a border of flame.

More important is the particular shape of the "roots" of the oak tree. No oak tree has such abundant and short roots which are much more similar to the shaggy pelt of a sheep. The left part of the design seems to have been altered only slightly; Figure 1 still distinctly shows the sloping back of a sheep with its knees, shanks and hooves. The part just above and to the right of the head seems to have been changed to a greater degree by removing parts of the pelt and carving out the masonry to a deeper level. But even here contours of the head with horns, one of the sheep's hooves (Fig. 4), beneath the mariner's left hand, and parts of the pelt are still visible. It is not merely accidental that the man grasps with both hands two "roots." They were to have been the sheep's four feet in the artist's initial plan.



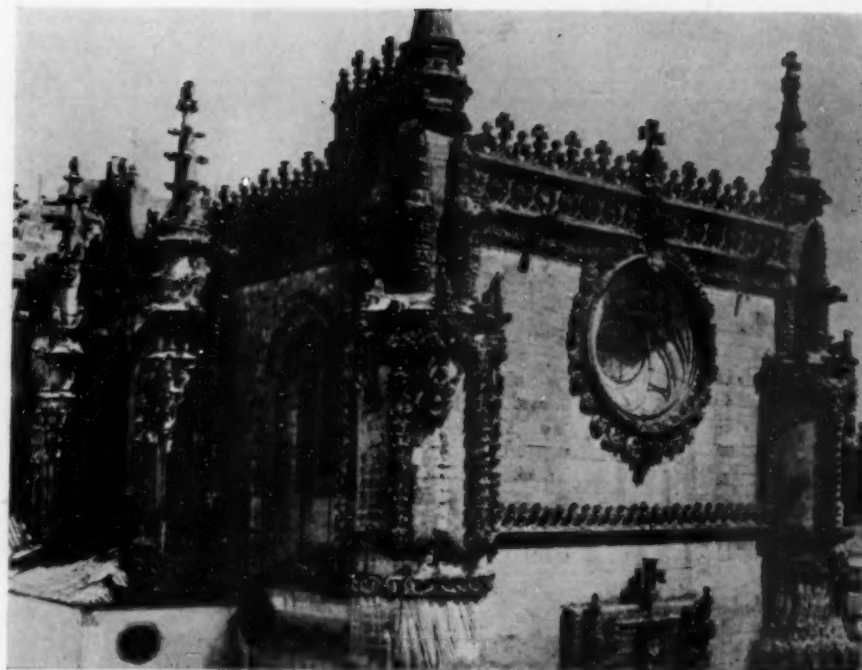
The presence of an oak tree in such a prominent place in a monument destined to commemorate naval discoveries, so long unexplained is clarified by the Legend of the Argonauts. We quote from Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*:

At vellera, Martis in umbra,  
Ipse sui Phrixus monumentum insigne pericli  
Liquerat, ardenti quercum complexa metallo.<sup>8</sup>

It is, beyond all doubt, the sacred oak of Mars upon which Phrixos had hung the ram's fleece as a sacrifice to the god for his successful escape. It was detached from the oak by Jason, who carried it off to his homeland.

There can be no difficulty in guessing who the new Jason is who carries the new Golden Fleece on his back. Vasco da Gama's share in this most daring expedition, a Portuguese *Argonautica* indeed, was too important to admit of doubt. This was the era of individual initiative, of the awakening of mankind from medieval inertia, of Humanism, of the invention of the printing press, of a new system of astronomy and the discovery of America. Manuel's predecessor having failed to avail himself of Columbus' services, the Portuguese crown had a second opportunity offered in the person of Vasco da Gama. Here was the man who after two years of enormous hardships returned to Lisbon with his caravels laden with the spices of India, worth their weight in gold. When in 1499 they cast anchor in the Tajo, the sea-route to the Far East had been discovered and the foundation of the Portuguese Empire laid. Vasco da Gama made King Manuel one of the richest and mightiest sovereigns of his time and initiated the golden age of Portugal. If anyone deserved to be portrayed on a monument commemorating Portugal's maritime discoveries as a new Jason it was Vasco da Gama.

It is difficult, indeed almost impossible, to identify a portrait after centuries by the features alone; much more so we believe, in a case when the portrait has been willfully changed later on. We asserted above that the head cannot be an ideal invention of the artist because of the deformed upper lip. We now may add that the nose was shortened later on to obliterate the likeness to the original. We believe that an artist capable of inventing this window would have hidden this ugly upper lip, if it really existed, rather than reproduce it. Vasco da Gama's portrait is still extant in the Lisbon Museum (Fig. 6). Comparing both we cannot expect too much likeness between the two, in addition to the reasons mentioned above, because of the different techniques and the fact that on the window he must necessarily have been represented as the young man he was in 1499 when he returned from his *Argonautica* to



*Fig. 2. The Chapter-House of the Order of Christ  
Thomar*



*Fig. 3. Inside of window of Chapter-House  
Thomar*



Fig. 4. Bust in the center of the lower window frame  
Thymar



Fig. 5. ROMAN, LATE THIRD CENTURY A.D.  
*The Good Shepherd*  
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery



Portugal. The painting, on the other hand, shows an aged man; it probably was executed a score of years later. At any rate, except for the shorter nose, the longer upper lip and the absence of long hair on the painting, there is no contradiction between the two. The shape of the head is similar, as are the straightness of the nose and the large, square and dense beard; both heads are covered, which might indicate baldness. The painting was worked much later; the difference of age might eventually explain the lack of long hair on the painting. We might mention in passing that the rose-window above our monument also includes the head of a man with a long, pointed beard and individualistic features (Fig. 7). It might be presumed to be the portrait of one of the prominent Argonauts, either of one of Da Gama's captains or of one of his successors.

The legend of the Golden Fleece, applied to the Portuguese Argonaut is, therefore, the only possible explanation for the combination of the three motifs of a man, the fleece and the oak tree, and of the border of flames in so prominent a place on a monument destined to glorify the maritime discoveries of Portugal. The legend of the Argonauts was still or again, alive at this epoch. Significant is the founding of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1429, at a time when Henry the Navigator was already busy preparing the Argonautica to be accomplished seventy years later by Vasco da Gama. A singular coincidence lies in the fact that the Order was founded in connection with the wedding of a Portuguese princess, Isabella, to Duke Philip of Burgundy. Don Manuel, King of Portugal, was himself a knight of the Golden Fleece.

We now have to explain why the original noble idea of the monument, which suited its purpose so well, was abandoned and disguised later on. The king alone, master of the works at Thomar and Grandmaster of the Order of Christ, had the power to give such orders. The reason why he did so probably must be sought in the successive deterioration of his relations with Da Gama. There is a distinct parallel between the changes in the original idea of the monument and the king's change of demeanor towards his admiral. We are well informed about this matter. King Manuel, even before Da Gama's arrival, upon receiving the thrilling news of his successful enterprise, sent letters to the king and queen of Castille, to the Pope and the Cardinal-Protector,<sup>6</sup> informing them of the "very great news"; he ordered processions throughout the country, trumpets blaring, to spread the wonderful event in his kingdom and to the world. Da Gama was received by the king and queen with great distinction. The title of "Dom," great financial benefits and

other privileges were granted to him. Da Gama then made a second journey to the Indies. After his return in 1503 there was a marked change in the king's behavior towards him. The great explorer, now world famous, who had so well served his king, was discarded from service during Manuel's lifetime. Writers have dealt repeatedly with the king's niggardly and suspicious disposition<sup>7</sup> and also with Da Gama's proud and exacting temper.<sup>8</sup> Da Gama aspired to become the territorial lord of his native town, Sines. There is a letter extant, dated February 22, 1501, promising this to Da Gama if the then territorial lord, the Order of S. Thiago, the *alcalde* and the Pope would consent. The Grandmaster of the Order was a close relative of the king and the latter probably had the means to carry through his promise had he really wanted to. But this promise was not kept. Da Gama, trusting the king's word, built his mansion in Sines, but in 1507 he was summarily ordered by the king to leave the town and his mansion within thirty days and never to return without the permission of the Order. From a formal point of view, the king's decision was not objectionable, as it was in accord with custom and valid institutions. But no indemnity whatsoever was offered to Da Gama. Relations between the king and his admiral deteriorated more and more. Uncommon in the epoch of royal omnipotence and very revealing is the fact that, in 1518, Da Gama reminded the king of his unfulfilled promise to create him a Count and territorial lord and asked his permission to emigrate with his family from his native country. The king's answer is still extant.<sup>9</sup> Now he addresses Da Gama as "*Almirante, amigo*" and only in 1519, almost a score of years later, was his promise carried out. He became a territorial lord not of Sines but of another part of the country. We attribute the change of the original plan of the monument at Thomar to the king's changed attitude towards Da Gama.

It is impossible to verify all the steps in the alteration of the original plan on the intricate monument of today. We also cannot know how near completion it was when the changes were ordered. To conceal the original idea it was unnecessary to eliminate the border of flames, inconspicuous in itself. It was thought sufficient to eliminate the portrait likeness and to connect the oak tree, planned originally to be in the background, with the sheep's pelt in the foreground by transforming the sheep's shaggy locks into the roots of the tree. The connection was achieved by sloping the trunk of the tree outward towards its base. To conceal the sheep-like form of the fleece it was extended around the tree towards the background and surface alterations made.



Fig. 6. Portrait of Vasco da Gama  
Lisbon Museum

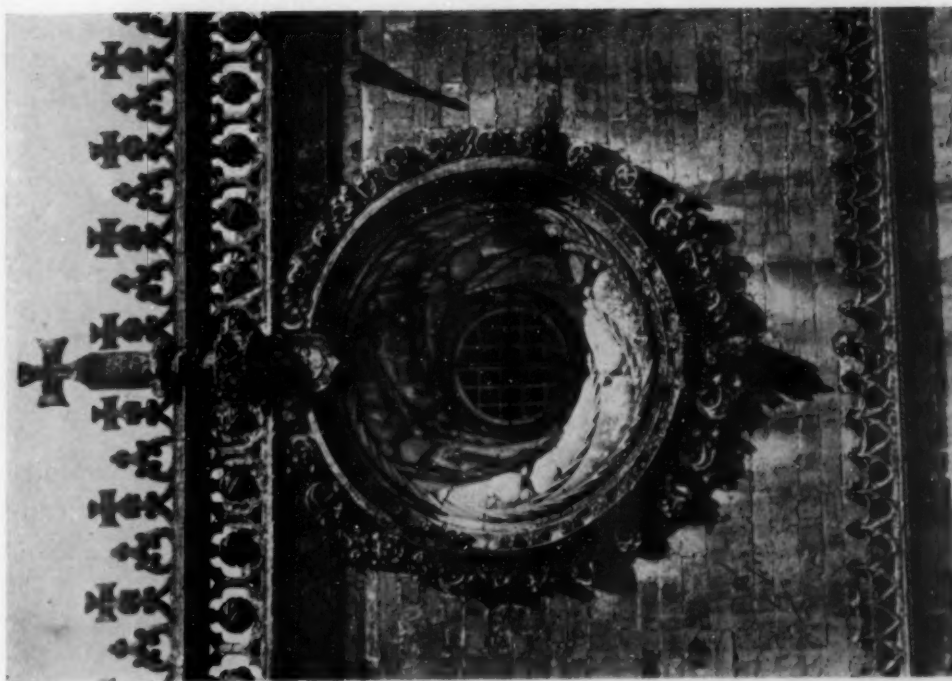


Fig. 7. Rose window of the Chapter-House  
Thomar



We have demonstrated that the window at Thomar was originally intended as a "Monument to Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese Argonaut." We also have shown how the original design was later changed and concealed by

The seeming truth which cunning times put on to entrap the wisest.  
So may the outward shows be least themselves:  
The world is still deceived with ornament.

Treacherous alterations on works of art are not uncommon, but the words of Shakespeare cannot be applied more truly than in our case. The placing of the window at considerable height may be the reason why the secret of a very clever camouflage has not heretofore been uncovered.

If our conclusions are accepted, the Portuguese nation, always proud of one of its greatest heroes, will not follow King Manuel in depriving Vasco da Gama of the honor of a contemporary monument worthy of his exploits and so well deserved. After remaining anonymous for more than four centuries, the window at Thomar has a rightful claim to the name proposed above.

<sup>1</sup> Racinski, *Dictionnaire Historico-Artistique du Portugal*, Paris, 1847; A. Haupt, *Die Baukunst de Renaissance in Portugal*, Frankfurt a/M, 1890, II, 38; W. C. Watson, *Portuguese Architecture*, London, 1908, pp. 157-170.

<sup>2</sup> R. dos Santos, *L'Art Portugais*, Paris, 1938.

<sup>3</sup> V. Guimarães, *Monumentos de Portugal*, Thomar, Porto 1929.

<sup>4</sup> We also might cite the famous *Good Shepherd* of the Lateran Museum, recently exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

<sup>5</sup> Liber V, 228-30.

<sup>6</sup> *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama*, London, Hackluyt Society, 1898, pp. 113-115.

<sup>7</sup> G. Correa, *The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama to India*, London, Hackluyt Soc., Introduction, p. XVII: "Manuel, who is known to have been of a most niggardly disposition, suspicious of his servants and very jealous of directing personally all the details of government, thought he had recompensed da Gama sufficiently and feared giving too much importance to one of his subjects. What inclines me to the supposition of Gama having given ombrage to the king, is the fact that when he again was employed Don Manuel was dead . . ."; H. M. Stephens, *The Rulers of India*, Oxford, 1892, p. 32: "It is a lasting disgrace to King Manuel that he neglected to reward the hero of Cochin (Pacheco) according to his merits"; p. 173: "Personally he was an ungrateful and suspicious ruler"; K. G. Jayne, *Vasco da Gama and his Successors*, London, Methuen & Co., p. 70: "Magellan had already deserted Portugal because he considered himself insufficiently paid. . . ."

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 68: "According to the [Venetian] ambassador Gama had a fitful temper and showed no gratitude for the favors lavished on him"; E. Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers*, London, 1933, p. 249: "Contemporary writers describe him [Gama] as a brave, tenacious and authoritative man, proud and irascible; the Venetian envoy, Leonardo Da Cha Masser, who knew him, calls him violent."

<sup>9</sup> Hackluyt Soc., *op. cit.*, p. 235: the letter is dated August 17, 1518.

## WATSON AND THE SHARK BY JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY

By E. P. RICHARDSON

IN his study of *The Birth of the American Tradition in Art* Professor Hagen drew a contrast between the two men who founded our tradition of narrative composition, Benjamin West and John Singleton Copley. West, he observed, started his pictures with a formula of composition, Copley with an observation of nature.

"When Copley painted the portrait of Mrs. Thomas Boylston of Boston, his method was 'inductive.' He worked out from separate given facts [of observation] and built other facts around them until the artist's 'generalizations' of the old lady's personality was formulated upon the canvas. Benjamin West's approach, on the other hand, was 'deductive.' When West painted *The Death of Wolfe*, he worked out from a compositional formula and made the separate facts (if such there were) subservient to it. William Hazlitt was alluding to West's deductive facility when he declared 'West has no good quality save composition.'"<sup>1</sup>

When Copley applied this solid approach of "inductive" realism to the tradition of historical painting which he found abroad, Professor Hagen believes, he effected a revolution in aesthetic thought and initiated a new impulse that was felt in the evolution of European history painting down through the middle of the nineteenth century.

Copley's narrative pictures today assume an importance in our view of American art that was not attributed to them twenty years ago. The appearance of a new and hitherto unrecorded version of his first narrative picture, *Watson and the Shark*, is therefore of great interest (Fig. 1). The three known paintings of this subject, which Copley was first commissioned to paint in 1778, were (1) the first small sketch in oil (24 x 20½ inches), which passed in 1942 into the Metropolitan Museum of Art, as the gift of Mrs. Gordon Dexter whose husband was a descendant of the painter; (2) the life-size picture painted for Brook Watson in 1778 (72 x 90 inches), which he bequeathed to Christ's Hospital, London; (3) a duplicate of the preceding (72 x 90 inches), which belonged to Copley's son, Lord Lyndhurst, and is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Fig. 3).<sup>2</sup> All of these are horizontal compositions. The new picture, which the generosity of Mr. Dexter M. Ferry, Jr. has brought to the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts, is in a vertical format (36 x 30½ inches). Signed and dated at the lower left: *Painted by J. S. Copley R.A. London 1782*, it comes from a private collection in

London<sup>3</sup> and appeared in the London art market only a few months ago. Nothing is known of its earlier history beyond the middle nineteenth century unless it is referred to in the following entry in Algernon Graves' *Art Sales* (1918), I, p. 149:

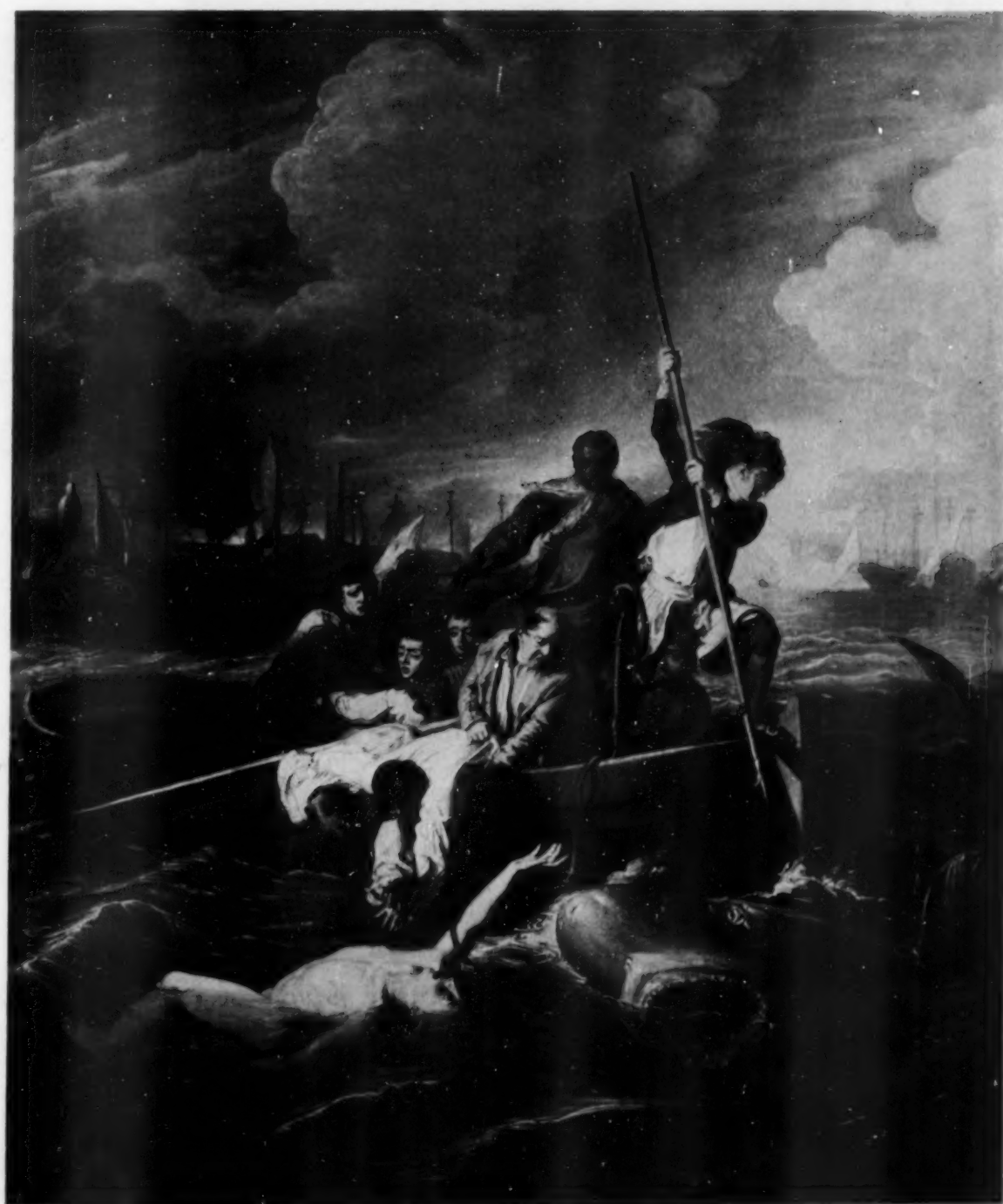
"1786, April 8, Com. at Christie's Noel Desanfans, 396.

Well-known subject of Shark. 44 x 37 outside frame . . ."

The change from a horizontal to vertical format, for whatever reason it was made, gives this new version of the picture a greater airiness and outdoor quality, which together with the smaller size and the freshness of touch, contributes to make it a canvas of exceptional vitality and dramatic reality.

When Copley left Boston in May, 1774, he was the greatest portrait painter of America; but except for two juvenile mythological pictures, inspired by engravings, he had painted only portraits. His first attempt at a large narrative composition of many figures, painted with the power of his mature style, was *Watson and the Shark*. The importance of this picture in the history of American painting makes it worth while to tell again the story of how he came to paint it. According to the family tradition, as told by Mrs. Amory,<sup>4</sup> Copley met Watson on the ship which carried him to England. Recent research has shown, however, that Copley must have met Brook Watson in London<sup>5</sup> four years later, after he had returned from studying in Italy and was settled with his family in London. Watson was a London merchant, who had been born at Plymouth in 1735 of good family. Orphaned at the age of ten, he was sent to Boston to the care of a distant relative. He was an adventurous boy and, having his way to make in the world, was sent to sea before he was fourteen years old. While his ship was in Havana Harbor, he went swimming and was attacked by a shark, which bit off one leg but was then beaten off by a rescue party in a small boat. The boy recovered but when he returned to Boston, found himself again homeless, his relative being bankrupt. He was adopted by a Captain Huston, who brought him up in Nova Scotia. In 1759 he went to London and established himself as a merchant there. In 1775, on the eve of the Revolution, he returned to America ostensibly on business, but Dunlap, in his life of Copley, denounces him as a secret agent sent to report on the state of the colonies to the government in London. Watson's lifelong connections with America must have brought him to Copley's acquaintance shortly after the artist settled in London. Watson there commissioned a large picture of his youthful adventure, which Copley exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1778.





*Fig. 1. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY, **Watson and the Shark**  
The Detroit Institute of Arts*



*Fig. 2. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY  
Brook Watson as Lord Mayor of London  
Indianapolis, The John Herron Art Institute*



*Fig. 3. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY, Watson and the Shark  
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts*

Professor Hagen emphasized the importance of the picture as a landmark in the development of the modern, realistic narrative painting of Europe, antedating by forty years Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa*. To my mind it is even more interesting as the first, and still one of the most notable, expressions of one of the fundamental themes of the American tradition—that of outdoor adventure and the life of man in contact or conflict with nature. It is somehow significant that Copley, the greatest figure produced by the eighteenth century colonial portrait tradition, in his very first attempt to transcend that tradition should have painted a drama in the life of man in the face of nature, which Winslow Homer might have chosen and which is, in fact, closely parallel to one of Homer's best known subjects. *Watson and the Shark* is thus in both its imaginative attack and its distinction of style, a notable picture in American history.

The rest of the story of Brook Watson is also worth telling. He had served as an army commissary under Colonel Robert Monckton at the siege of Beauséjour in 1755 and under Wolfe at the siege of Louisburg in 1758. In 1782 he was made commissary-general to the British army in Canada, under Sir Guy Carleton, but returned to England when peace was made in 1783. The following year, 1784, he was elected one of the representatives of the city of London in Parliament and kept his seat until he resigned to serve as commissary-general to the British army in Flanders, under the Duke of York, 1793-1795. In spite of the reputation of army commissaries in the eighteenth century, Watson seems to have been an honest and patriotic officer, for Lord Liverpool spoke of him as "one of the most honorable men ever known." When he returned to London in 1796 he was elected Lord Mayor. Copley's portrait of him in his lord mayor's robes is now in the John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis (Fig. 2). But English politics were stormy in those years of the French Revolution and Watson, a sturdy supporter of the government, was fiercely attacked by John Wilkes and his followers who opposed the war. A lampoon of him by Wilkes called "Lines on Brook Watson and his Wooden Leg" was handed down in the memory of the Copley family. Wilkes congratulated Watson that the shark had bitten off his leg rather than his head, for, he concluded:

The best of workmen and the best of wood  
Could scarce have made a head so good.

However, Watson seems to have had a sense of humor of his own, for another story of him is told by Mrs. Amory. He was once at a country inn in England.



The servant came up to him to pull off his riding boots but to his horror, upon giving a jerk, found himself holding the whole leg. When he recovered from his shock he begged to know how the gentleman had lost his leg. Watson said, "Very well, I'll tell you if you promise not to ask a second question." The boots promised. "It was bit off," said Watson. The boots wandered off, scratching his head and saying mournfully, "How I wish I could ask just one more." Brook Watson in 1803 was made a baronet and died in 1807.

Copley afterward painted other large narrative paintings, vivid in action and dramatic in feeling: *The Death of the Earl of Chatham* (1779-1781) in the House of Lords; a picture of the battle of St. Heliers, Island of Jersey, *The Death of Major Pierson* (1784); a naval battle, *The Defeat of the Floating Batteries at Gibraltar* (1783-91). He was not so successful with his reconstructions of the distant past: a historical scene famous in the annals of the Puritan emigration to New England, *Charles I, Demanding the Five Impeached Members of Parliament* (1799) or of a still more remote subject, *The Offer of the Crown to Lady Jane Grey* (1808). His instinct was to deal with contemporary life and in this lay his genius. *Watson and the Shark* shows him painting a narrative subject from the life he knew. Boys swimming, boats, sailors, salt water and wind and sky, all these things were part of his own experience, part of the life of a boy who had grown up on the Long Wharf in Boston Harbor.

<sup>1</sup> Oskar Hagen, *The Birth of the American Tradition in Art*, New York and London, 1940, p. 134.

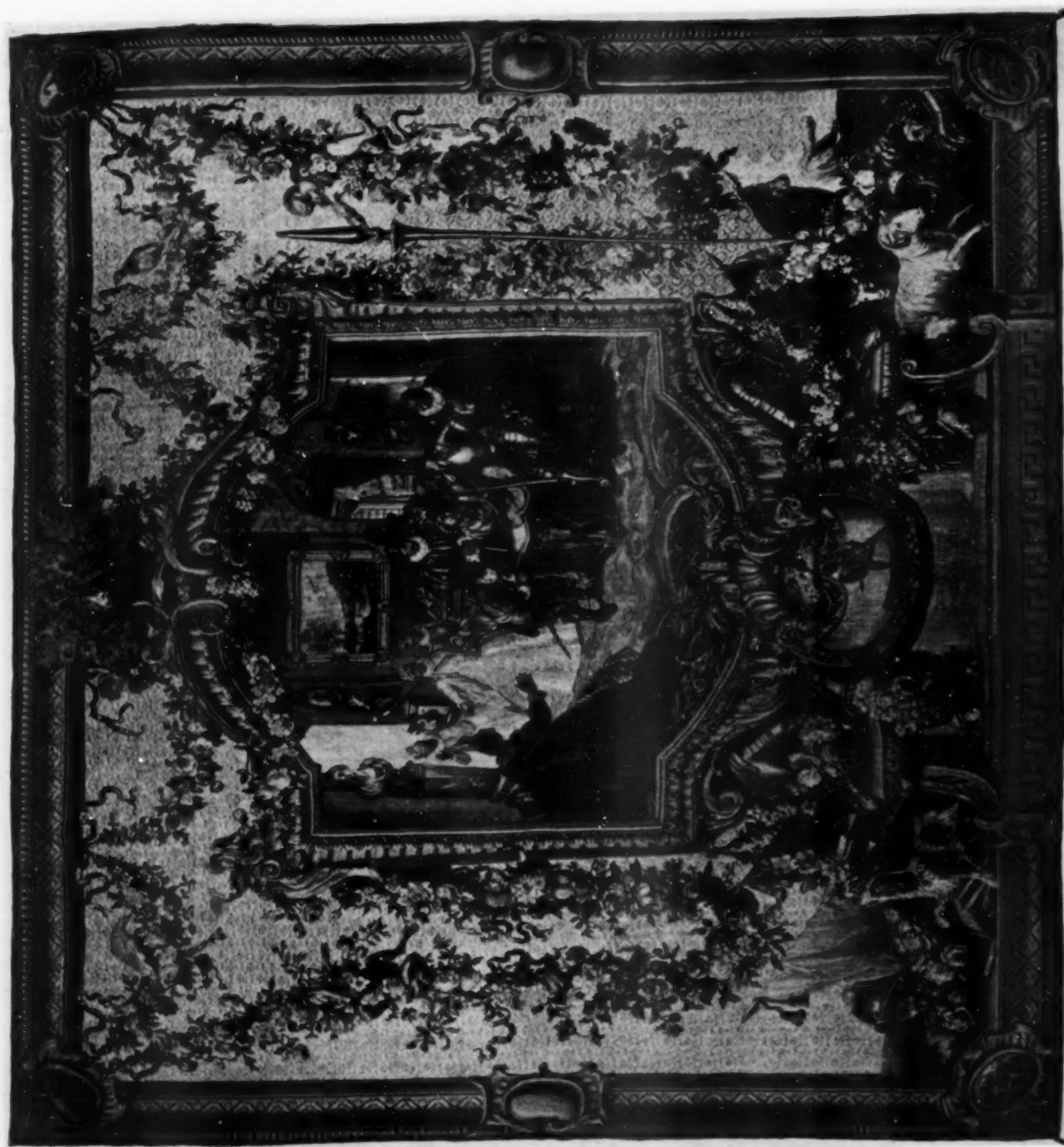
<sup>2</sup> A copy, perhaps a replica made from the mezzotint, oil on canvas, 50 x 68 inches, No. 81, was in Lord Aberdare's sale at Christie's, London in 1932. A small study, attributed to Henry Sargent (?), and also probably made from the engraving, belongs to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Acc. no. 16.346.

<sup>3</sup> Collections: G. P. Anderson, London; acquired about 1830 from the latter by W. P. Hunter; it comes now from the family of Mr. Hunter.

<sup>4</sup> Martha Babcock Amory, *The Domestic and Artistic Life of John Singleton Copley*, Boston, 1882, pp. 71-75.

<sup>5</sup> Margaret Jeffery, "A Painting of Copley's English Period," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 1 (1942-43), 148.

RECENT IMPORTANT  
ACQUISITIONS  
OF AMERICAN AND  
CANADIAN COLLECTIONS



Royal Gobelines Tapestry from the Atelier of Claude Audran after designs of Charles-Antoine Coypel, c. 1735,  
*Don Quixote Consults Enchanted Head at House of Don Antonio*  
 Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum

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## THE RECENT ACQUISITIONS

### A GOBELIN TAPESTRY IN THE WADSWORTH ATHENEUM

This Gobelin tapestry in the Wadsworth Atheneum, acquired through the gift of Elisha E. Hilliard, is one of the twenty-eight Don Quixote subjects designed by Charles-Antoine Coypel (1694-1752) to illustrate Cervantes' story. The episode portrayed here, *Don Quixote Consults the Enchanted Head in the House of Don Antonio*, is the one where the Don, leaning upon a lance, listens attentively to the responses of the bust of a Roman Emperor placed upon a draped table in the center of the finely appointed Salon. He is attended by Sancho Panza, three male personages and five noble women.

The tapestry was woven about 1735 under the direct supervision of Audran, the head of the Gobelin's factory, and his signature appears in the lower right hand corner. In addition to the signature the following inscription is woven into the border:

DON QUICHOTTE  
CONSULTE LA TETE  
ENCHANTEE CHEZ DON ANTONIO

In this as in the other Don Quixote series, the figure subjects are placed in a gilt cartouch occupying only a small portion of the tapestry and surrounded by mats of garlands and flowers in imitation of carved panels and stucco work enframing mural paintings. The whole is enclosed in a gold frame, the corners of which are decorated with the monogram of Louis XV. All the rococo decorations surrounding the main subject were designed by the weaver, in this case Audran. This particular decorative scheme of Coypel and Audran was adapted by Boucher for many of his tapestry series.



Bronze Siva Nataraja  
South India late 13th or early 14th Century A.D.

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NICOLAS POUSSIN, *Landscape with a Woman Bathing*  
Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada

The series, selected made of tapestry them and belonged Athenes is in ex

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The Don Quixote series, as distinguished from most tapestry series, was never woven as a complete set. Subjects were selected and ordered by patrons from the cartoons which were made over a series of years from about 1715 to 1751. These tapestries are highly prized in Europe and relatively few of them are to be seen in America. One of the most notable sets belonged to the late Clarence H. Mackay. The Wadsworth Atheneum tapestry is made of the finest silks and woolsens and is in excellent condition both as to color and texture.

#### THE RECENT ACQUISITIONS OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA

BY R. H. HUBBARD

Although the purchases of the National Gallery of Canada were curtailed by the war, the acquisitions of the last few years through gift or purchase have fortunately strengthened the collection in several fields. A previous note in these columns has recorded the gift of the Massey collection of English paintings which exemplifies the trends of the past forty years. These seventy-five pictures with the existing British collection, make it possible to present painting as a continuous process from the sixteenth century to the present day. A similar need which existed in the collection of French painting has been filled by the new pictures discussed here. It should be noted that three of these are due to the generosity of Mr. H. S. Southam, C.M.G., who has been an outstanding benefactor of the Gallery for many years.

All but one of the new acquisitions represent nineteenth century painting. The exception is the *Landscape with a Woman Bathing*, by Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), the classic landscape painter of France. The picture, which has also been known as *Romantic Landscape*, displays a broad panorama with trees framing it at left and right and a range of hills in the distance

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GUSTAVE COURBET, *Les Rochers, Etretat*  
Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada

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at center. The composition is a symmetrical one, except for the figures in the foreground, who are confined to the right side. The suggestion has been made that the episode represented here is that of David and Bathsheba: the castle to the left with a figure walking on a parapet and others riding away from the portal, also the servant peering over the bushes at the woman and her attendant, all correspond to the account in II Samuel XI, 2-4. (Compare the subject as painted by Rubens in 1635, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.) It is known that the composition was painted in or about 1650 for Passart. In an anonymous engraving of the subject the onlooker is present, as he is in the Ottawa picture and in another version in the Louvre, but he is absent in a copy at Chantilly. In 1885 the picture was in the collection of Earl Howe and was shown at the Winter Exhibition at Burlington House in London. (J. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, VIII (1837), 160, no. 312; O. Grautoff, *Nicolas Poussin*, 1914, II, no. 143; W. Friedländer, *Thieme-Becker*, 1933, XXVII, 326.

The *Landscape with a Woman Bathing* is characterized by Poussin's breadth in the arrangement of the picture planes and by that balance of composition and restraint of color which distinguish his style from that of his baroque contemporaries in other countries. His "classicism" does not, however, prevent the achievement of a powerful impression of depth, carried out by means of receding diagonal lines of composition.

In nineteenth century French art, the contribution of the realists is indicated by several of the new pictures at the National Gallery. These include two paintings by Gustave Courbet (1819-1879), whose art embodied a revolt against both the classic idealism of David and the romanticism of Delacroix. Courbet's objectivity was essentially a return to the tradition of naturalism which had been the mainspring of European art



An early portrait of Paul Revere by  
Joseph Kimberly, retouched by  
Gilbert Stuart

Old and Modern Art

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HONORÉ DAUMIER, *Le Wagon de Troisième Classe*  
Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada

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since 1400. *Les Cascades*, from the Gordon Edwards collection, is a large landscape exemplifying Courbet's richness of pigment and undimmed colors. *Les Rochers, Étretat*, presented by Mr. H. S. Southam, is a beach scene painted in 1866, with luminous sky and sea and a glimpse of green meadow on the top of the massive cliffs. The clarity of all the forms, the accuracy of the colors and the fluid quality of paint here indicate the painter's style at its best. It was this aspect of his art which influenced the French impressionists (who also painted at Étretat), rather than the more aggressive realism of such pictures as the *Enterrement à Ornans* or the *Atelier*, in which he made a frontal attack on the public taste.

*Le Wagon de troisième classe*, by Honoré Daumier, is the best known picture in this group. The realistic powers of Daumier (1808-1879) were directed principally towards the life of the French middle and lower classes, and the keen characterization of the figures here is evidence not only of his work as an illustrator and caricaturist, but also of his profound sympathy with the human kind. A number of variations of the theme exist, but an unfinished version of this composition is in the Havemeyer collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York, and a water color drawing in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, may have been the study for both the New York and Ottawa pictures. J. Adhémar dated the National Gallery picture around 1864 (*Beaux-Arts*, 20 avril, 1934), and Miss Agnes Mongan dated the Baltimore study before 1860 (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, VI série, XVII [1937], 251-253). The National Gallery picture came from the Count Doria and Gallimard collections in Paris and from Sir James Murray in London to the Edwards collection, Ottawa. A widely exhibited picture, it is marked by its sturdy figures and gold massing of the areas of light and dark.



# K N O E D L E R

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Old Masters • French Impressionists  
 Contemporary Artists  
 Framing • Restoring

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CLAUDE MONET, *Mer Agitée*  
Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada

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At this point in the development of nineteenth century painting it was thought appropriate to represent the contribution of James McNeill Whistler, the American-born painter who was important in the impressionist movement in Paris before settling in London. *Lillie in our Alley* (*The Lady of Lyme Regis*) was painted about 1898 and shows the influence of the prevailing style of the end of the century as well as the more characteristic features of Whistler. But the introspection or emaciation of a Rossetti or a Beardsley could not obscure the effectiveness of Whistler's composition in a single vertical of the girl glancing over her shoulder and the gentle harmony of soft colors in a flat pattern. These features he had learned in his early impressionist days under the influence of the Japanese print. The National Gallery picture came from the collection of Miss Birnie Philip and was probably painted as a study for the *Lillie in our Alley, Brown and Gold*, recently acquired by the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University.

The representation of the French impressionists in the National Gallery is enhanced by three new pictures acquired from the Edwards collection. In *Mer agitée* by Claude Monet, the only subject matter is sky and the sea; here the breakers are rendered by delicate arabesques of the brush which almost foretell those of Van Gogh or Dufy. Two canvases by Camille Pissarro show not only the use of "broken color," but also this painter's powers in the realm of form. *Les Fanenses* of 1901, a strongly-composed group of figures, is a late work, but the *Ruelle, Auvers-sur-Oise* shows as early as 1875 a firm construction of the planes of the picture which provides the stylistic transition to Cézanne and his complete preoccupation with form.

*La Route à Auvers-sur-Oise* by Paul Cézanne is therefore of interest as having been painted at the same time (about 1873-



Dutch Interior

(Size 22 x 24½ inches)

Peter De Hooch

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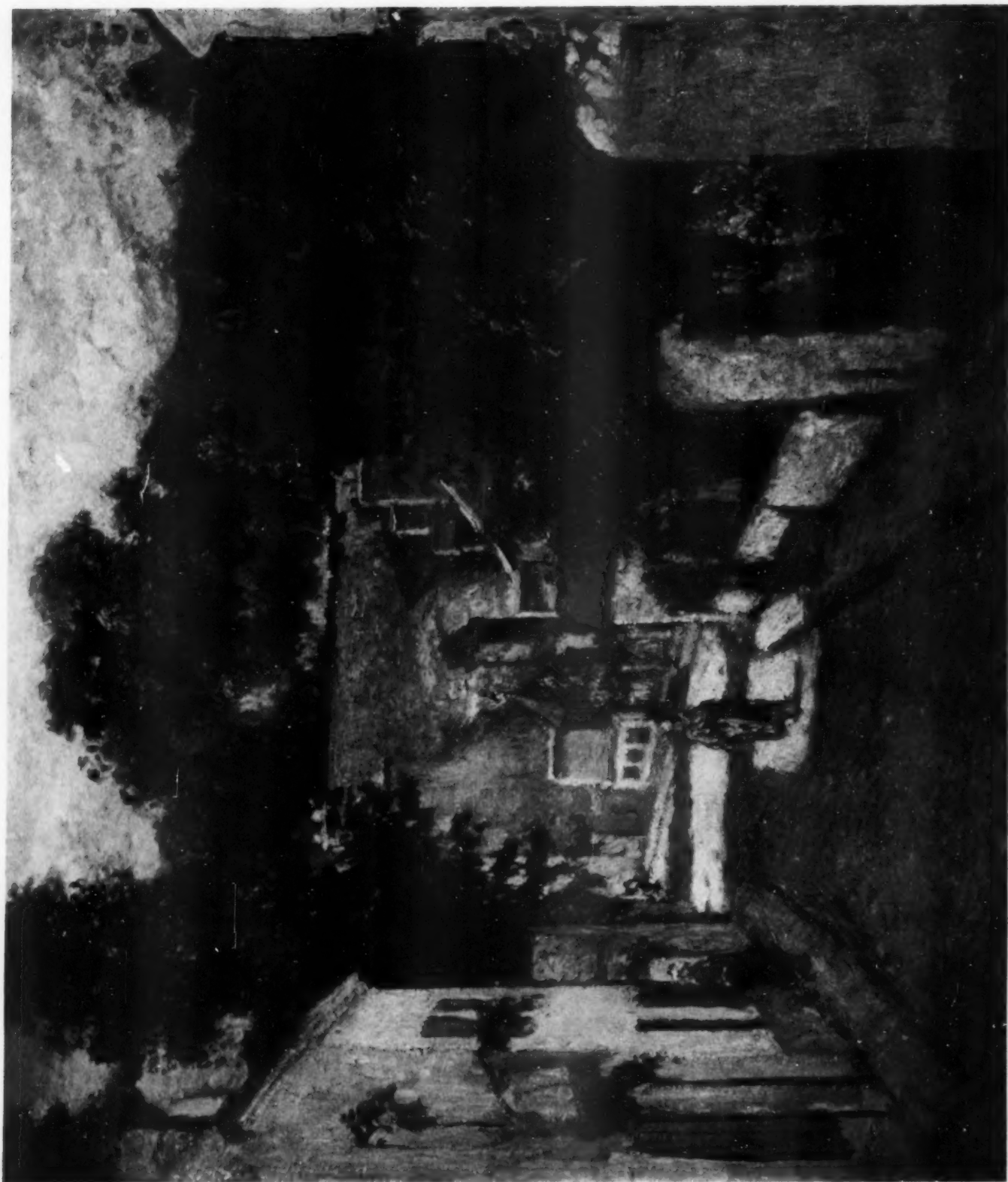
Old and Modern Masters

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CAMILLE PISSARRO, *Ruelle, Anvers-sur-Oise*  
Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada

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75) and at the same place as the Pissarro picture. Here, however, Cézanne has all but abandoned the impressionistic brushstroke and is concentrating his attention upon the broad flat planes so characteristic of the Cézanne of the 'eighties. Even the colors, though based on the light tones of Pissarro, no longer embody a visual analysis of nature, but assume a more decorative and formal quality.

An early work of Paul Gauguin, presented by Mr. Southam, completes the list of recent acquisitions. The *Paysage à Pont-Aven* was painted around 1885, soon after the artist had worked with Pissarro. At this time he had given up his banking career in Paris and had gone to paint in Brittany. Thus the picture shows the style of the period before Tahiti and before the late works with their ornamental flat patterns in strong colors. But already at this stage Gauguin has intensified his colors and begun to eliminate all subtle transitions. One outstanding feature of this landscape is the very green meadow sloping down towards the path on the left which bears out the Post-Impressionist attitude that a meter of green was more green than a centimeter, if one wished to express greenness!

CAMILLE PISSARRO, *Ruelle, Auvers-sur-Oise*  
Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada



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of  
Chinese Antique  
Works of Art*

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*Harry MacNeill Bland*

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## RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN THE FIELD OF ART

*Mostra Della Scultura Pisana Del Trecento.* Museo di S. Matteo, Pisa. 3rd edition. 1947.

When the important exhibition of medieval sculpture held at Pisa in 1946 was reopened in 1947, a number of important works not previously available were added, including the great wooden *Descent from the Cross* (Volterra) and the *Tomb of Guerniero*, son of Castruccio Castracani (Sarzana) by Giovanni Balducci, as well as a group of paintings of the same period. The third edition of the catalogue not only includes the new additions to the exhibit but contains many changes and revisions of the former text, made by Franco Russoli and Emilio Tolaini.

*Belle Arti.* A bi-monthly review of art. Museo di S. Mattio, Pisa. 2200 lire per year.

The impetus given to the study of Pisan sculpture by the great exhibition of 1946 and 1947 is the immediate occasion for the appearance of this well written and well produced review. The first issue includes articles on Arnolfo's ciborium in S. Cecilia, Rome (Stefano Bottari), Nicola Pisano (Luigi Coletti), English sculpture circa 1300 (Arthur Gardner), Pisan sculpture at Naples (Ottavio Morisani), the sculpture of S. Maria della Spina (Emilio Tolaini), an iconographic detail of Nicola Pisano's fountain at Perugia (Riccardo Barsotti), a note on Pisan influence in Lombard sculpture of the Trecento (Luisa Gengaro), the wooden Annunciation group at Ghizzano (Vittoria Kierner) and an unknown work of Giovanni Pisano (Franco Russoli). The editors announce their intention to broaden the field of the review in future issues to include articles without limitations of period or place.

*The Mount Brothers.* Suffolk Museum at Stony Brook, Long Island. 48 pp., 54 illus.

This catalogue of an exhibition featuring the work of the three Mount brothers forms a very complete and entertaining history of the entire Mount family. From the illustrations we can gather that both elder brothers, Henry (whose sensitive portrait by William is one of the earliest works known by the greater painter) and Shepard were excellent craftsmen, but hardly more, while William was indeed "an accomplished artist who has won for himself the highest place in the field of American genre painting." Four paintings by Henry, twenty-one by Shepard and more than a hundred by William were shown in this carefully planned exhibition. It is to be regretted however that the more than fifty small water colors, wash drawings, etc., mentioned in the catalogue, were omitted from the list. The catalogue is preceded by a useful introduction by Miss Bartlett Cowdrey on "The Hawkins-Mount Family" and excellent short essays by Miss Wall, the curator of Stony Brook, on each of the three brothers.

*El Greco.* The M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, 1947. 1 color repro. (cover), 39 black and white illus. Foreword by Walter Heil.

This catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Masterworks by El Greco is notable for its twenty-four exceptional photographic details, which greatly amplify ten of the group of fifteen paintings exhibited and illustrated. By means of the enlargements, El Greco's swift and startlingly simple technique, devoid of particular detail and local color, is conveyed with all of the dramatic and mobile chiaroscuro of his paintings.

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS OF THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

- American Romantic Painting*, by E. P. Richardson. 236 illus., 1944 (order through E. Weyhe).....\$10.00
- Origins of Modern Sculpture*, by W. R. Valentiner. 177 pages, 138 illus., 1946 6.00
- The Way of Western Art, 1776-1914*, by E. P. Richardson. 204 pages, 175 plates, 1939 (order through Harvard University Press).....4.00
- Catalogue of Paintings*, 30 illus., 1944.... 1.50
- Italian Gothic Painting*, by W. R. Valentiner, 55 pages, 22 illus., 1944..... .50
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- Drawings and Miniatures*, by Ernst Scheyer. 52 pages, 28 illus., 1936..... .35
- Flemish Painting*, by E. P. Richardson. 31 pages, 15 illus., 1936..... .35
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- The Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, by subscription, 4 issues per year .80

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BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

OF THE ART QUARTERLY published four times per year at Detroit, Michigan, for Sept. 1947.  
State of Michigan, County of Wayne—ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Marion B. Owen, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Secretary of THE ART QUARTERLY and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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2. That the owner is: The Detroit Institute of Arts of the City of Detroit, Michigan.

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(My commission expires Sept. 17, 1950.)

